# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

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## Soviet Union

*FBIS-SOV-91-150* *5 August 1991*

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## START Negotiator Discusses Treaty

*LD0408184591 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1230 GMT 4 Aug 91*

["International Review: The World This Week" program presented by Viktor Levin, with Yuriy Konstantinovich Nazarkin, 'roving' ambassador and head of the Soviet delegation on nuclear and space weapons]

[Text] The Soviet-U.S. summit has ended. The time has come to review the first results, to make sense of what happened, and to analyze it to some extent. Naturally, attention is drawn first and foremost to the START treaty, which was signed by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and George Bush. I am deeply grateful to roving ambassador Yuriy Konstantinovich Nazarkin, the head of the Soviet delegation at the talks on nuclear and space weapons, for agreeing to take part in our program, even though it is difficult for him, since the visit has only just ended and he has a great deal of work to do.

Yuriy Konstantinovich, first and foremost, one would like to hear your general evaluation of the treaty, since you have had to carry out some very thorough and painstaking work on it. What would you like to stress first and foremost?

[Nazarkin] For the first time in the history of the two countries possessing the world's biggest stocks of strategic offensive armaments, the process of the reduction of these weapons will begin, thereby commencing the movement toward reducing the level of military confrontation in the sphere of armaments that pose the greatest threat to the whole of mankind. In brief, I think the treaty is significant in the following ways: It is important, I think, to draw attention to one aspect of this—if I may go into detail on this significance—connected with the economy, namely, conversion. Our country is now implementing conversion. The treaty should stimulate this process. At the same time, it will create conditions that ensure that this conversion will not cause any harm to our security. I think that this is very important under the circumstances in which we now find ourselves.

We should not forget, of course, that this treaty will be an extremely important step in the further strengthening of confidence and improvement of relations with the United States. The point is that the START treaty contains a system of verification that is unprecedented in its scope and detail. The sides have already exchanged a great volume of information connected with strategic offensive armaments on both sides, and will continue to do so. This information, this data, will be verified by means of those measures on which we have agreed and which are included in the verification system.

[Levin] In other words, the principle of trust, based on verification, has been embodied in a specific accord.

[Nazarkin] Yes, that is quite right. That is also a very important circumstance, in my view. I would put it this way. As far as the bilateral aspect of our relations with the United States is concerned, the conclusion of the treaty will be an extremely large contribution to bringing Soviet-U.S. military relations into line with the growing level and quality of improving Soviet-U.S. relations in general. Ultimately, as a result of all this, the treaty will expand and strengthen the positive turn that international relations have taken in the world over the last few years thanks to the policy of new thinking making steady headway in the international arena.

[Levin] Yuriy Konstantinovich, you mentioned what is probably the most important thing, the thing that interests all of us: the problem of national security. Please would you tell us how this problem is being resolved. Why is it that we can say, with every justification, that national security will not suffer as a result of the signing of the treaty or, to be more precise, the fulfillment of this treaty? The signing is a very important fact, of course, but the treaty has to be honored by both sides. How will national security benefit from the fulfillment of this treaty?

[Nazarkin] The START treaty, as we call it for short, is intended to halt the momentum behind the race in strategic offensive arms. As I have already said, the level of these armaments will be reduced on both sides. Unquestionably, this process of reduction will go further. As I see it, this process will not stop with the conclusion of the START treaty. In other words, it will acquire momentum, but in the opposite direction, in the direction of reducing strategic offensive armaments. The fewer weapons in the world, the more security there will be, not just for the two states making these reductions, but for all others.

[Levin] There are individual comrades in our country—there are not many of them, but such a view is being expressed—who claim that the reduction of strategic armaments will make us more vulnerable. As I understand it, both the Americans and ourselves will have an identical number of strategic armaments as a result of the reductions. Therefore, it seems to me that this view has no foundation. But since such views are being expressed, what would you say to these people?

[Nazarkin] There is no doubt that the treaty is a result of mutual concessions. On some things we conceded, on other things the United States conceded. By the way, there is criticism of the treaty in the United States as well. Moreover, the main aim of the criticism there is that the administration is reproached and accused of damaging U.S. security, as a result of the treaty's conclusion.

[Levin] The terminology is identical.

[Nazarkin] Yes, on the whole, there is a certain mirror reflection. But in order to genuinely, objectively evaluate the treaty, you must not take any of its individual aspects. Let's say on some types of strategic offensive weapons we conceded to the Americans.

[Levin] In particular you have in mind intercontinental ballistic missiles.

[Nazarkin] Yes. In particular it is possible to talk about them, although I would not maintain that we gave way completely on ICBMs. We have two types of these missiles that the United States does not have. I have in mind heavy ICBMs and mobile ICBMs. The United States does not have heavy ones at all, and they have not yet developed mobile ones. They are carrying out work, and maybe they will develop them, but at the moment they do not have them. For this reason the measures stipulated in the treaty on these missiles, at the present time, refer to us. But if the United States develops these types, then they will refer to the United States to the same degree.

But this is not the only matter. There is criticism of the United States administration due to the United States making concessions to us on heavy bombers. If we are to balance this treaty on a political scale, then we must balance all these aspects. In other words, the treaty was achieved as the result of mutual concessions, a painstakingly checked balance of interests, and it is precisely thanks to this that it must become a reliable instrument that will strengthen security for both sides.

[Levin] Yuriy Konstantinovich, in this regard I would like to ask you what role military specialists played in the development of the treaty.

[Nazarkin] The conclusion of the treaty would have been unthinkable without their participation.

[Levin] That is understandable, but....

[Nazarkin, interrupting] I must say that they put much effort into this treaty being concluded. Relations of very close cooperation and, I would say, creative coordination were established inside the delegation and out. Of course, all the decisions that were made in connection with the treaty were made with their direct participation. It could not be otherwise, since the treaty touches on very sensitive spheres of our military mechanism. It would be simply unthinkable for them not to have participated in this.

[Levin] Tell me, please, a few years ago when Ronald Reagan came out with the so-called SDI, the Star Wars program as it was called at that time, we expressed the opinion that the implementation of this program might rule out a possible treaty on strategic offensive weapons since a completely different situation might be created. How has this issue been decided?

[Nazarkin] The link between offensive and defensive weapons in the strategic sphere exists. It is impossible to examine in isolation offensive weapons or defensive weapons. I think that this link had its effect despite work on creating these so-called Star Wars weapons in the United States. Nevertheless, nothing has been undertaken there that would violate the treaty on antimissile defense which was concluded in 1972. I think that the very fact of talks being held is of no small merit. In other words, the U.S. Congress took into account, and now even more will take into consideration, the coming reductions in the sphere of strategic offensive weapons. I think that the signing of the treaty will have the most positive effect on the sphere of defensive weapons as well. That is what I think.

[Levin] I take your reference to a positive effect to mean reduction in appropriations, perhaps eliminating them altogether. After all, these are quite astronomical amounts of money. American congressmen, who must be given credit for being able to value the taxpayers' money, are scarcely going to start spending or giving their blessing to spending on something that, to a considerable measure, is losing all practical sense.

[Nazarkin] That is precisely what I wanted to say. That is quite true.

[Levin] Yuriy Konstantinovich, I know that at the final stage of the talks there was a very intensive discussion about three particular problems: telemetry, determining new missiles, and counting the number of warheads. What is more, decisions were made at the very last moment. Could you tell us how these problems were resolved, in what way solutions were found, and whether there were elements of haste in the tackling of these issues, that is,whether there was a slight desire to neglect the substance of the matter given that the summit was looming on the horizon and there was a desire to hold it as soon as possible? In other words, wasn't it that terrible disease—and I have observed for myself that it is not just our characteristic—of fulfilling enhanced pledges by a certain date?

[Nazarkin] You are quite right. Those three matters were indeed dealt with at the closing stage of the talks. But that does not mean that these three issues emerged at that stage of the negotiations. They appeared a very long time ago. As far as telemetry is concerned—to call it that for the sake of brevity—this was a problem that arose back when the SALT-II treaty was being ratified in the United States. By the way, this was one of the accusations levelled against the SALT-II treaty in the United States, that the treaty did not provide for telemetry as a channel for monitoring compliance. Let me explain what it was all about. At the time of launch, each side receives telemetric data, information, for itself from a ballistic missile. This data is then processed and updated. Naturally, in the secretive atmosphere of the cold war this telemetric information was encoded to prevent the other side from gaining access to it and discovering any secrets. We have now agreed in the treaty that neither side will encode the information, thus enabling the other side to check on data, the monitoring of which is provided for in the treaty. Why couldn't we resolve this problem for such a long time? It was mainly because it is very complicated from the technical point of view. In other words, the political decision, the political accord, which I referred to just now, existed before, but each of

the sides has its own method of transmitting this information and encoding it. A lot of effort was needed to formulate provisions making it possible for each side to have access to this information in equal measure. Yes, from the technical point of view it was difficult, but when an accord was reached on the need for signing the treaty, a strong political spur was provided—that's how I would describe it—and the technical experts on both sides doubled and tripled their efforts The problem was finally resolved like that.

[Levin] But they did not surrender their principles?

[Nazarkin] No, of course not. Everything was sorted out very reliably, in equal measure for each side, I believe.

[Levin] What about the other two problems?

[Nazarkin] The other two were also problems that did not just appear at the last moment. Moreover, a decision on them, an agreement on them, was effectively found last year. I have in mind the Houston meeting of the foreign ministers last autumn. But unfortunately the U.S. side then backed away from the accord. Certain details came to the surface that needed further work. That is the reason the three issues that you mentioned were tackled during the final stage.

[Levin] Yuriy Konstantinovich, I wish to return to the issue of telemetry. I know that the treaty prohibits encoding. That is clear. It also prohibits jamming, and that is also clear. But it also prohibits the use of capsules to deliver such information when ballistic missiles are launched. For the benefit of technically ignorant people like myself, please could you explain what these capsules do?

[Nazarkin] The use of capsules is one way of transmitting telemetric information to Earth. In other words, this information is not transmitted through the air but is recorded on special devices called capsules. When the missile falls to Earth, the capsule is picked up and the data is retrieved. Capsules are also used when the missile passes through what is known as the plasma formation stage. In other words, when a missile enters the dense layers of the atmosphere, it creates a dense layer around itself. This makes it difficult to transmit telemetric information over the air. Therefore, the period when the missile passes through the plasma formation stage is also encapsulated—by us at any rate. I believe that the Americans do not do so. This is another point of difference that caused difficulty when resolving questions related to telemetric information.

[Levin] Yuriy Konstantinovich, I wish to return to the foundations of this treaty and to ask you a question which, to be honest, I have already heard mentioned several times. Originally, when these talks first began, a 50 percent reduction was mentioned. The figure now arrived at is 30 percent. I understand perfectly well that the important thing was to get the process under way. All the same, why 30 percent and not 50?

[Nazarkin] Well, even at the start it was not envisaged that 50 percent would apply to all parameters. Indeed, a 30 percent reduction is now being discussed. This is also not quite accurate, because, for some parameters, we have in fact agreed on a 50 percent reduction. In other words, in both cases there were elements of simplification. When 50 percent was mentioned, there was a bit of exaggeration. Now that we are talking about 30 percent, we are slightly underestimating. That is how I would put it. But when 50 percent was discussed at the very beginning, it referred to a 50 percent reduction of throw-weight, and that is what we agreed on. Ultimately that is what has been achieved, roughly 50 percent. We have exactly halved heavy ICBMs, the aim of the negotiations from the very beginning. For other parameters, the reduction will in fact be slightly less. As I have already said, one-third is also not quite accurate.

[Levin] That is clear. The reductions are supposed to be achieved within seven years of the treaty's coming into force, in three stages—the first stage consists of three years, stage two, the next two years and stage three, the last two years. This means a precise number of armaments to be scrapped has been spelled out for each stage. Once the first stage has been completed, the second stage will follow. Is that right?

[Nazarkin] Yes. It has been done this way to ensure uniformity in the scrapping process, to ensure that one side does not find itself at an advantage during any one of the stages. For example, we might start reducing quickly while the United States might hold onto its armaments for a bit; or the other way around. I am speaking hypothetically.

[Levin] Yes, I understand.

[Nazarkin] In order to prevent such an imbalance occurring in the process, these intermediate landmarks, as it were, have been established. By the end of the first stage, the sides must achieve certain intermediate figures. Likewise by the end of the second stage. Subsequently, they will arrive at the finish, so to speak, with 6,000 warheads and 1,600 carriers. The first figure includes 4,900 warheads for ICBMs. For these parameters we have established intermediate levels to ensure uniformity.

[Levin] In other words, this is—I would say—an additional guarantee for national security.

[Nazarkin] Yes, of course.

[Levin] Yuriy Konstantinovich, how do you see the further development of events? I realize that some sort of pause will probably now ensue because things need to be analyzed. Implementation of this treaty has to start. At the moment it has not even been ratified. We know that this may also take a certain amount of time. But the question of other nuclear powers will no doubt arise, and the idea that they should also join this process in some way. I am not saying at the next stage, but surely they should join in. Then there is a question which cannot fail

to worry us. This is the question of how rigorously the requirements of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty are be.ng carried out. After all, we could agree with the Americans—let's speak theoretically, as I do not see any immediate prospect for this at the moment—but we and the Americans could agree that we will not keep nuclear weapons any longer on either side. Britain, France and China will not have them either. Then suddenly it turns out that somebody else has them. That could be extremely dangerous.

[Nazarkin] It is only possible, of course, to talk about no one having nuclear weapons. The conception of a nuclear-free world envisages precisely this—the complete absence of nuclear weapons in all states. You are right to link the problem of reducing nuclear weapons with the problem of their non-proliferation. Of course, the non-proliferation treaty must be observed and it is being observed. In the final count, these flows, so to speak, these processes of non-proliferation, of ensuring non-proliferation, and the reductions of nuclear weapons must, of course, merge.

[Levin] Yuriy Konstantinovich, I would like to clear up this question: Reductions must take place over seven years. At the same time the treaty is valid for 15 years. According to the agreement between the sides, after this time is up, the treaty will be prolonged for five years, if during this time there is no new agreement. How is this to be understood?

[Nazarkin] The reduction in weapons is only part of the implementation of the treaty. The second part, which will be observed after the first seven years, is observation of the levels to which the sides will come after seven years. In order to be sure that these levels are not exceeded, there exists a monitoring system. In the period after the seven years, this monitoring system will come into action immediately after the treaty comes into force. It is even intended to implement certain measures before this, before it comes into force, the period between its signing and its coming into force. But after seven years reductions will not take place since the sides will come to the level which we agreed, but the necessity of monitoring these levels will remain. And this will be continued.

[Levin] Yuriy Konstantinovich, in both the American press and our own I have seen various initial figures from which the Americans and ourselves will go towards implementing the provisions of this treaty. The variants are fairly noticeable, yet everyone refers to authoritative sources. I noticed, if I have understood correctly, that we are proceeding from the date of 1 September 1990. The Americans are proceeding from this date as well. Right?

[Nazarkin] Yes, that is absolutely correct. We exchanged data from precisely this date. These data will be updated according to the position on the day the treaty comes into force.

[Levin] That is, the point of calculation will be the day that the treaty comes into force. It is important, if I understand it correctly, not how much there are just now—say the Americans have 11,000 and we have more or less—it is important that we come to the same parameters. Right?

[Nazarkin] Yes, absolutely correct.

[Levin] But it is not important how many nuclear weapons one or other side has today.

[Nazarkin] Of course this is important. But I think that you put the question correctly. The United States has more nuclear weapons, about 13,000. We have about 10,000. We have more carriers. We have about 2,500 carriers, while the Americans have 2,200. Therefore, we are beginning to move with various indices from these basic parameters. But at the end of the seven year, period we must come to the same indices—6,000 weapons and 1,100 carriers.

[Levin] Thank you very much, Yuriy Konstantinovich, for this conversation. I think that we can congratulate everyone, the whole of mankind, on the conclusion of this treaty, particularly those who directly participated in its development.

[Nazarkin] Thank you very much.

## START Treaty Provisions Viewed

*PM0208122591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 91 Second Edition p 4*

[By Yevgeniy Shashkov: "START Made"]

[Text] So another Soviet-U.S. summit meeting is behind us. Although disarmament problems were not the main or only point on the agenda the signing by the USSR and U.S. presidents of the treaty on the limitation and reduction of strategic offensive arms was undoubtedly its culmination. We shall not try to pretend: Had this agreement not been ready for signing, the very summit meeting would have been in doubt.

The 700-page document backed by the signatures of the heads of the two superpowers is the outcome of many years of efforts by politicians, diplomats, and military men. (Almost 10 years ago they began with a 59-page draft of the treaty). It is the result of the enormous labor of a whole generation of Soviet and U.S. participants in the talks, the fruit of their will and patience, boldness and trust, and the breaking of stereotypes. But it is at the same time the beginning, a kind of "START" (incidentally, that is the English acronym for the agreement on strategic offensive arms) to an unprecedentedly large voluntary reduction of the strategic nuclear arms of the USSR and the United States. Both M. Gorbachev and G. Bush assessed this document very highly and noted its historic importance not only for our two countries but also for the whole world.

What is the thrust of this document, what are its main provisions? I do not lay claim to a thorough account of the treaty, which is virtually impossible in a newspaper

column, I shall merely highlight its main provisions, basing myself on how Soviet and U.S. specialists interpret it. And so the reduction of strategic nuclear weapons will continue for seven years. The arsenal of Soviet ground-launched ICBM's must be reduced by 30 percent and of U.S. ground-launched ICBM's by 25 percent while submarine-launched ballistic missiles must be reduced by 50 and 30 percent respectively. Soviet heavy bombers will not be reduced at all while for the Americans their number will decrease by 35 percent. As a whole the arsenal of delivery vehicles coming under the treaty will be reduced by 36 percent by the USSR and 28 percent by the United States. As for the number of warheads [boyezaryady], it will be reduced by approximately 42 percent for both the USSR and the United States.

The term of the treaty is 15 years unless it is replaced with a new agreement before then. It can be extended for another five years with both sides' agreement. The provision on the Soviet Union's unilateral statement that one of the "exceptional circumstances" which could serve as grounds for suspending the treaty's operation could be the withdrawal of one side from the ABM Treaty or its substantial violation is of extraordinary importance.

I intentionally cited a long list of figures since it seems to me that it is to the figures that those initially critical of the disarmament processes within the START framework will turn. And the fact that there will be criticism was stated by the Soviet president when the treaty was signed: "There will be talk here in Moscow of one-sided concessions while in Washington there will be talk of concessions to the Soviet Union."

Indeed, the agreement is characterized by a spirit of mutual concessions and compromises. I shall cite just one example of these concessions. The United States has agreed that our TU-22M ("Backfire"), which the Western press has been using in recent years to intimidate its ordinary readers, should not be regarded as a heavy bomber since the Soviet side has undertaken not to give it an intercontinental range, including through the use of midair refueling. On the other hand the Americans have agreed to count their MX "Peacekeeper" missile as a mobile missile although only in principle could it be converted in this way. Foreseeing possible criticism leveled at him on his return home, when he signed the treaty G. Bush stated frankly: "Neither side has acquired unilateral advantages over the other."

Of course, it is sad that the absurd logic of overarmament has become so deeply rooted in the consciousness of many people in both the USSR and the United States that even the two countries' presidents, on signing very important documents like the START treaty are obliged to be evasive with regard to those who do not want nuclear disarmament. As, incidentally, they have to do with regard to those who, conversely, demand even more rapid nuclear disarmament steps. The logic of the latter's appeals is akin to the naive dreams of some of our figures who think that "we can scrap all the missiles and immediately start living like real people."

Time will be needed for the militarized and primitivized political thinking rooted in public awareness to be replaced by normal, human thinking. Only then will the doctrines of warfare give way to the concepts for forestalling and preventing them and only then will plans for the "crushing defeat" of an imagined enemy be replaced by joint plans for strategic stability and defense sufficiency. The START treaty is only a kind of start, a first but very important and necessary step in that direction. One wants to believe that the time will come when all members of the "nuclear club" will realize that a concept of security based on nuclear overarmament is not strategy but pathology.

## NATO Official Cited on START Treaty

*PM0208131591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 91 Second Edition p 4*

[By V. Peresada: "Rivalry? No, Partnership!"]

[Text] Brussels, 1 Aug—In the North Atlantic alliance, where they kept a close watch on the course of the Moscow meeting, the reaction to its results came from the highest level. NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner has issued an official statement on the signing of the START treaty.

The statement warmly welcomes the Soviet-U.S. treaty. Its signing, the NATO leader believes, is one more step toward a world in which security will be guaranteed by a minimum quantity of arms which, Woerner said, is also the aim of the North Atlantic alliance. In proposing a substantial reduction of the nuclear arsenals of the United States and the USSR, the treaty at the same time will substantially strengthen the sides' mutual trust in this sphere and lay the foundation to strategic stability in the 21st century, the NATO secretary general stressed.

And here is what the leadership of the North Atlantic Assembly, which unites the parliamentarians of the NATO countries, thinks of the results of the Moscow summit. My interlocutor is John Boravski [surname as transliterated], director of the assembly's political committee.

"In my view the political importance of this meeting is that it displayed with unprecedented clarity the desire of the United States and the USSR not for rivalry but for partnership. That is borne out primarily by the spirit of mutual understanding embodied in specific joint decisions. As a representative of the North Atlantic Assembly, to which security problems are particularly close, I would like to single out among these decisions the treaty on strategic nuclear forces. It will undoubtedly go down in history because until now we have succeeded in reaching agreements only on not building up these forces. But now for the first time there will be reductions."

"Whatever skeptics may say, in particular by stressing the fact that only one third of the nuclear arsenals of the United States and the USSR will be reduced and that the remaining potential could destroy all mankind within an hour," my interlocutor continued, "it is clear to realistically minded people that a great deed has been done. A path has been opened, not verbally but in essence, toward the practical easing of confrontation at the level of the most powerful and dangerous modern weapons systems, and that is of colossal importance not only for the USSR and the United States themselves but also for the world as a whole. This is true primarily for Europe, where the confrontation between West and East has always been particularly tangible. Although the Soviet-U.S. treaty is bilateral and does not affect the strategic situation n Europe directly, it cannot fail to affect the movement of the 'European train' of disarmament and confidence-building. After all, it has been concluded not simply by the nuclear powers but also by the most influential participants of the CSCE process. I am convinced that the constructive approaches they have displayed in the sphere of strategic nuclear forces will encourage a similar trend at talks on other problems connected with the consolidation of international security, including within the framework of the all-European process."

It is no accident that the sociopolitical circles of the NATO countries, including the North Atlantic Assembly, see in this treaty, as in the Moscow meeting of the USSR and U.S. presidents in general, a breakthrough toward new order in the world of which very recently we could only dream.

## Likely Impact of START Treaty Viewed

*PM0208130291 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Aug 91 First Edition p 3*

[By Manki Ponomarev: "We Need It, and So Does the Whole World"]

[Text] By the time this issue of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA reaches the readers, the two-day meeting in Moscow between the Soviet and U.S. presidents will be over. But as I write these lines it is still going on. And therefore I cannot, of course, claim to make a comprehensive analysis of its outcome. As the poet said, shapes are more clearly visible from a distance: A face seen close up is blurred. And this meeting was an event on such a large scale that a certain distance in time is necessary in order to assess it fully.

All of this is true. Nonetheless I will venture to express an opinion on some of the major problems raised during the many hours of talks in Moscow and Novo-Ogarevo. Because what was discussed is something that not only we, the Soviet Union, and not only the United States, need; the whole world needs it.

In this context it appears necessary to return in our thoughts to M.S. Gorbachev's Nobel lecture. Speaking in Oslo, he said that peace now presupposes an ascent from mere coexistence to cooperation and joint creativity by countries and peoples, and predicted that in the late 20th century force and weapons will have to be substantially suppressed as the main lever of world politics.

It is less than two months since these words were spoken. But they have already been confirmed convincingly in the course of the Moscow summit meeting.

Indeed, the whole course of the summit showed that both the USSR and the United States have advanced purposefully toward a new era, toward new milestones in bilateral relations, which in a number of instances can be characterized as partnership. This applies to their joint actions in the international arena—on regional problems, for instance. It applies to the problems of ensuring security in the most direct sense of the word—the military sense, to problems of alleviating the burden of superarming.

The ceremonial signing in the Kremlin of the Treaty on the Reduction of Strategic Offensive Arms is clear evidence of this. This is indeed a major step toward strengthening strategic stability, toward disarmament in the most dangerous and certainly the most complex sphere.

The treaty's text has yet to be published, and it is hardly likely to be published in the newspapers—the document is too long, running to hundreds of pages. But the public already knows about some of its main provisions, and these enable us to assess its full significance.

For the first time in history it is a question of not only limiting, but reducing strategic nuclear arms. The reductions are considerable—by approximately one-third of the number actually deployed today. Upper limits have been set on what the parties to the agreement can have, along with very strict measures of monitoring observance of the accords. In short, the signing of the START treaty has shown that given good will, the biggest tasks are within the powers of the Soviet Union and the United States.

It must be mentioned that the newly concluded treaty is meeting with not only approval and support, but also criticism, some of it very sharp, among a section of the foreign public, and our own too. People point out, for instance, that according to the letter of the treaty, the United States, instead of reducing the number of its nuclear weapons to 6,000, could increase them to 11,000. Other criticisms are also made.

Well, there may be criticisms of some of the treaty's provisions, but it must be remembered that they were formulated under the conditions of a sharply deteriorating "cold war," whose consequences have not yet been fully overcome to this day, and they were formulated in relation to those conditions. More than nine years of hard work produced the maximum that could be achieved. Take the possibility of the United States increasing the number of its nuclear weapons to 11,000. The possibility exists, but the intention to do so does not. We have every reason to believe that, precisely because of the treaty, they will not do it.

Of course, we must not get complacent. Reports come in from time to time from across the ocean that cause us to doubt the true desire of certain circles to strengthen stability in the military sphere, but that is on the side. In the main the treaty is wholly in accordance with the interests of the parties that signed it.

Here I think it is apposite to cite an assessment of the treaty by Army General M. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff. He believes that the treaty will ensure the security of our national interests to the fullest extent.

It is also necessary to take sober account of the realities that will determine the fulfillment of the terms of the treaty. Thus it does not prohibit us from testing nuclear warheads, or the United States from modernizing theirs. But as Academician Ye. Velikhov said the other day, neither the USSR nor the United States is in a position to do this in practice: Thanks to the demands of the public, the production of fissile materials has stopped in both countries.

Thus the conclusion of the START treaty, whose implementation is to take place over seven years, confirms the view that weapons will have to be suppressed by the end of the 20th century. In this connection the question arises: What next? Does this treaty mark the end of the disarmament problem, or is it only a stage on the road to a world where weapons will cease to play a top, decisive

role? It seems that there are no grounds for regarding it as an end. The time has come to move on to the next stages—to begin serious talks on tactical nuclear weapons, space arms, naval forces, chemical weapons, and not only between the USSR and the United States. It is time to bring other countries belonging to the "nuclear club" into these talks. The main thing is that a new conceptual basis of security must be formulated, based on joint schemes for strategic stability and defense sufficiency.

Only time will tell what will happen in practice. But the question arises: If force and weapons are ceasing (they have not yet ceased, of course—remember the Gulf war) or will in the foreseeable future cease to be the main lever of world politics, what will take their place? I think the Moscow meeting answered this question. Economic problems, and also regional problems, are increasingly coming to the fore.

That is why the question of ways of stabilizing the situation in the Soviet Union occupied such a major place at the talks. President Bush quite naturally wanted to know what and whom he has to deal with in the USSR. And President Gorbachev, answering in broad terms the questions of his partner in the talks, not only emphasized our determination to continue and develop political and economic reforms, but also noted that improving relations with the United States is a final choice that is in the profound long-term interests of our country.

Welcoming the readiness expressed by the U.S. leadership to develop trade relations with the USSR and grant it most-favored-nation status, the Soviet side called for the speediest eradication of the "cold war" legacy in this sphere. One of its relics, seriously hampering both bilateral economic relations and the USSR's incorporation into the world economic system, is the Cocom lists of restrictions. These are obsolete, and only hamper the launching of large-scale projects for what is ultimately mutually beneficial cooperation.

Other questions were also examined at the two presidents' meeting, and of these I would like to highlight regional questions, especially that of the Near East. A joint statement was adopted expressing the desire to hold a peace conference and achieve a comprehensive peace settlement in the region. A joint statement was also adopted on the situation in Yugoslavia. A common language was also found on a number of other regional problems.

It would, of course, be wrong to claim that there were no difficulties during the talks, that the atmosphere in which they were held remained invariably cloudless. At times pressure could be sensed from those forces across the ocean that would not mind warming their hands at the difficulties the Soviet Union is experiencing and pushing it toward disintegration.

The American side placed what I regard as excessive emphasis, for instance, on the Soviet Union's relations with Cuba. And in a number of other cases the U.S. President's tone was importunately lecturing, especially when it came to a number of internal aspects of Soviet policy, particularly in relation to the Baltics, or relations with other countries, first and foremost Japan, where Bush expressed solidarity solely with the Japanese view on the so-called "northern territories." But there is nothing surprising about that. The United States has every right to its own view of problems, and the differences that exist, far from overshadowing the generally optimistic character of the Moscow meeting, only serve to highlight it.

Both for us and the whole world, the Moscow meeting showed that a further improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations and the scaling of new heights in cooperation between our great countries is in the interests of everyone and detrimental to no one. I think the near future will confirm this conclusion.

## INTERFAX on Middle East Peace Conference

*OW0508023291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[From "Diplomatic Panorama": "Bessmertnykh and Baker Not to Tour Middle East Together, but USSR Plans To Cover its Part of the Road To Peace Conference" by Mikhail Mayorov—INTERFAX Headline—Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] It's been announced in Moscow that Mr. Bessmertnykh and Mr. Baker will not go on a joint tour of the Middle East. The head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's information department Vitaliy Churkin said speculations about such a tour were caused by the misinterpretation of a statement by the Soviet foreign minister. Mr. Churkin held that no such action was planned.

The U.S. state secretary is now on a fresh tour of the region in an effort to get Israel to agree to holding a peace conference in October.

However, the Soviet diplomat said Mr. Bessmertnykh did not rule out the possibility of another regional tour to sort out the problems which might arise in the course of preparations of the peace forum.

In the meantime, Soviet diplomats do not believe this is the only way of influencing regional developments. Moscow has been discussing the Middle East issue with visiting officials of the countries concerned and keeping up active diplomatic correspondence. One indication is provided by Mr. Arafat's letters to President Gorbachev and Mr. Bessmertnykh. Although the fact has been formally admitted, the Soviet side is not in a hurry to disclose what the message is about.

On restoring diplomatic relations between the USSR and Israel, Soviet diplomats say this will happen "in due time". The Soviet Union sets no conditions, but officials of the foreign ministry's information department make it

clear that the atmosphere emerging after the peace conference has been called will be more conducive for such a step.

### Yanayev Chairs CSCE Meeting 2 Aug

*LD0308154791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A session of the commission to prepare for the Moscow CSCE meeting and conference on the human dimension took place today and was chaired by USSR Vice President Yanayev. Practical questions connected with preparations for the conference and with public measures were examined. Specific instructions were issued.

## United States & Canada

### Follow-Up on Bush-Gorbachev Summit Meeting

#### Bush Remarks Cited

*LD0208220291 Moscow TASS in English 2154 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Washington August 3 TASS—The head of the U.S. Administration, who has just returned from Moscow after his summit with Gorbachev, was interviewed by journalists in Washington. He was asked about his attitude to the opinion expressed in the U.S. that he was devoting more attention to international problems than domestic ones. Bush said that, in his opinion, the American people are interested in the START treaty. They want their children to grow in a world in which there is less concern over our possibility to blow each other up. It is true that the Soviet Union is facing some economic problems. He believes, however, that Americans like their country to take the lead in improving relations with the Soviet Union, although some time ago the two countries were rivals.

Bush confirmed that he had discussed with Gorbachev the situation around Iraq. He stressed that, in his opinion, the Soviet Union, the same as other countries, is interested in Iraq putting into effect the U.N. resolutions in full volume. The President reiterated the stand of his administration and said that the relations with Iraq would not be normalised as long as Saddam Hussayn remained in office.

Responding to the question if Gorbachev set forth the Soviet stand with regard to the resumption of the use of force against Iraq in case it does not fulfil its obligations, Bush said, without going into detail of his confidential talks with Gorbachev, that the Soviet leader hopes that there would be no need in it and that Iraq would fully meet its commitments.

The U.S. President said that he had raised the problem of Soviet assistance to Cuba. In his opinion, the settlement of this problem would be met positively in the United States.

#### Shevardnadze Interviewed

*OW0108161991 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1239 GMT 1 Aug 91*

[Interview with former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze by NHK Moscow correspondent Kazuo Kobayashi, from the "NHK News 21" program—recorded; Shevardnadze and Kobayashi both speak in Russian with a simultaneous Japanese translation provided for Shevardnadze and Japanese subtitles provided for Kobayashi; the following is from the Japanese]

[Text] [NHK announcer Sonoda] Our correspondent Kobayashi asked former Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze about how U.S.-Soviet relations will develop and the future of the Gorbachev regime.

[Kobayashi] How do you assess the results of the current U.S.-Soviet summit talks?

[Shevardnadze] I am satisfied with the results of the current summit because the summit has yielded tangible results. A treaty on the reduction of strategic arms was signed at the summit and I believe this is very significant in leading to a drastic reduction of nuclear weapons. I believe that the conclusion of the treaty is of great significance.

[Kobayashi] As a result of the current summit talks, will President Gorbachev's standing be strengthened at home?

[Shevardnadze] Needless to say, if the talks produce tangible results, this will enhance the state leader's authority. I think that as a result of the current summit, President Gorbachev and other officials in charge of preparing for the summit will strengthen their standing at home.

[Kobayashi] The ratification of the START treaty is expected to encounter resistance in the Soviet Union. What do you think?

[Shevardnadze] I think that the ratification of the treaty will probably encounter difficulty because there are forces opposing it. There are some people who think that the Soviet Union has made unilateral concessions to the United States. I, however, believe that the treaty will be ratified. The treaty was signed as a result of mutually reasonable concessions. The treaty could not be signed without such mutual concessions. I think that the treaty will certainly win a majority of support from the Supreme Soviet.

[Kobayashi] There are many cases in which common sense does not work in the Soviet Union.

[Shevardnadze] Yes, you are right. Regarding the ratification of the treaty, we do not need to be worried about it.

[Kobayashi] But, some people are persistently voicing their opposition to the treaty.

[Shevardnadze] Even now, there are people who are opposed to the treaty. However, their opposition has no decisive meaning. In view of polls and opinions, the public opinion supports the treaty and this should be taken into account.

[Kobayashi] If there will be obstacles in U.S.-Soviet relations in the future, what will they be?

[Shevardnadze] Now, there are no problems, and relations are going well. I think that this is a natural course. I think that if there is any impact on relations, it will come from domestic unrest in the Soviet Union. If the Soviet Union fails to stabilize the economic and political arenas, this will become a factor that hurts relations. I think this is the only thing that can hinder U.S.- Soviet

relations. This is the only thing hampering the dynamic development in relations between the United States and the Soviet Union.

[Kobayashi] How will the Soviet Union's domestic situation develop in the future?

[Shevardnadze] I cannot make a bright prediction. The economic situation is bad and social tensions are running high. Therefore, I am concerned about the possibility of a undesirable time coming to our nation. We, democrats and reformers, are seeking overall stabilization. We have to work together to avert the worst.

[Kobayashi] Thank you very much.

[Shevardnadze] Thank you.

### Church Leaders Issue Joint Statment

*LD0208215591 Moscow TASS in English 1239 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[By correspondents Anna Grigoriyeva and Aleksandras Budris]

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS — Following the Moscow summit, it can truly be said that the Cold War has ended, U.S. and USSR church leaders believe. A joint statement by participants in the inter-Christian prayer vigil here on July 30 and 31 for the success of the Soviet-U.S. summit was circulated at a news conference held at the publishing department of the Moscow Patriarchate today.

Most importantly, President Bush and Gorbachev have signed the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. Combined with the earlier signed agreements on intermediate nuclear forces, this treaty has made the world "a safer place for all peoples", the statement emphasises.

For 35 years the Christian churches of the two countries "have been deeply involved in regular exchange and common reflection unbroken by periods of extreme tension between our governments", the statement says.

The Christian churches are called to serve in a world which we share with believers of other faiths "whose longings for peace and justice are as strong as our own", participants in the prayer vigil stated, reaffirming their desire and commitment to cooperate with them "in pursuit of a world where the God-given dignity of every person will be respected and celebrated".

It was announced at the news conference that, following the prayer, participants held a meeting of the Coordinating Committee of the Churches of the Soviet Union and the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States.

They exchanged views on the new situation that had arisen in the U.S. and the USSR and in the churches of the two countries and discussed ecumenical relations, and joint projects that are expected to be implemented in 1991-1992, and drew up a plan for future meetings.

### Domestic Developments Impact on Summit

*PM0208155191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 91 p 1*

[Commentary by A. Vasilyev: "From Katya Lychevaya to M.S. Gorbachev"]

[Text] How the years fly! There was peace between us and the Americans five years ago too, but it was a completely different peace. We fought for it insofar as, apart from anything else, we wanted it to be on our terms. Now we will not fight each other for anything, as we do not have sufficient forces, and the era of Katya Lychevaya, epochal initiatives, and "public diplomacy" has come of age. Moscow did not succeed in driving a wedge between the United States on the one hand and Western Europe and Japan on the other. Above all, the Western world grew increasingly more solid, while the Soviet Union... well, we know what happened there.

At the Moscow summit U.S. President George Bush spoke not just as an envoy for the American people but also as a representative of a would-be declining capitalist system, which today is flourishing, solid, and confident. It was a buoyant President Bush who came to Moscow—full of the victory in the Persian Gulf, his popularity among Americans, and the results of the London "G-7" meeting, where he thriftily weighed up how much aid would go to the Soviet Union. Today, the master of the White House is on a high, wearing the victor's crown.

The master of the Kremlin is wearing the martyr's crown. Our internal squabbles and discord brusquely made themselves known to Mikhail Sergeyevich. On the Lithuanian-Belorussian border Lithuanian customs officers were killed—a battle deliberately timed to coincide with the Soviet-America summit. The calculation is simple: Press representatives flying into the Soviet Union would relay the news across the world and the American President would be forced to react: Once again the Kremlin's inability to firmly control the country—even on days which are so important for it—would be shown. But there is one plus for Gorbachev in this situation (if, indeed, there can ever be talk of pluses in such situations): The incident on the Belorussian-Lithuanian border proves that the Soviet president is not personally supportive of such pranks, for after all he is not suicidal. On the other hand, it forces M.S. Gorbachev and his ministers responsible for security to give a definitive answer to an historical question: Who is guilty?

The complexity of M.S. Gorbachev's situation during the summit was highlighted by the behavior of another of our presidents—the Russian president. B.N. Yeltsin's refusal to participate in the talks on the same team as Gorbachev and Nazarbayev and his conduct during the official dinner, which came close to violating etiquette, provoked among journalists covering the summit both confusion and delight at the coldness of a man who knows what he wants and is striving relentlessly toward

this aim. Now very few people will believe that Gorbachev and Yeltsin have buried the hatchet.

Barely had G. Bush flown from Moscow to Kiev than demonstrators had gathered with banners: "The Ukraine will not pay Gorbachev's debts," and "Independence for the Ukraine." It would be interesting to know what the American President feels when he sees all this—when he sees in their eyes the independence of people aiming to enlist on their side a foreign president to fight against their own president! Bush is unlikely to want to swap presidential seats with Gorbachev.

One special event for the "summit" is the signing of the treaty on strategic offensive arms. Of course, we should rejoice at the conclusion of the START treaty and the join statement on Yugoslavia and the Near East. They will become new factors of stability in our unstable world—a world being founded not according to our blueprints but according to American blueprints. Within 20 years, the Soviet Union has traveled the long road from Khrushchev's "we will bury you" to Gorbachev's "new thinking." But the road is still long—from Gorbachev to Gorbachev, from the "new thinking for the Soviet Union and the whole world" to one phrase of Mikhail Sergeyevich's that I will never forget: "We want as much dependence on the United States as possible."

### Politicians, Public Discuss Results

*LD0308105991 Moscow TASS in English 1602 GMT 2 Aug 92*

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—The results of the Soviet-American summit are being discussed most extensively by the Soviet political and public communities.

"Of utmost significance for us is the fact that during his meetings with Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow George Bush expressed his firm intention to take new practical steps to develop economic relations with the Soviet Union," Chairman of the Kazakh Supreme Soviet Yerik Asanbayev told TASS.

"We associate this with the major step in the transition from mutual suspiciousness to openness and trust between the USSR and the U.S.—the signing of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty. This creates a reliable basis for a substantial expansion of cooperation in different fields and first of all in commerce, investment and cultural exchange."

The results of Moscow talks, Asanbayev stressed, will help speed up the transition of this country to market relations and make more plausible and practical the integration of the Soviet Union into the world economy.

The Moscow summit was also described as a major step towards qualitative changes in Soviet-U.S. relations by Far Eastern historian Valentin Romanov, rector of the Khabarovsk College of Education.

"The signing of the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty," he told TASS, "will go down in world history. The leaders of the two countries have managed to cross the line beyond which prospects open for a more confident dialogue and the development of cooperation in most diverse fields. The years during which the treaty was prepared were marked by a wide spectrum of our relations—from exacerbation to mutual understanding. The fact that our countries will now be able to considerably cut their budget allocations for armaments can serve as a major prerequisite for boosting our economies and improving the social situation.

"It is now important," Romanov stressed, "for the Soviet and American legislatures to ratify the treaty as soon as possible".

"That the two great powers have been able to find a common language to overcome military confrontation cannot but inspire joy. For aggressive politicians the people are always hostages," Leningrad theatrical director Ruben Agamirzian told TASS.

"George Bush's visit to Moscow opens a still wider field of activity for cooperation of professionals of the two countries, including artistes," Agamirzian said.

### Observer Sums Up Achievements

*PM0408150191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Aug 91 Second Edition p 6*

[Political observer Tomas Kolesnichenko "View from Moscow": "Even the Impossible Is Possible"]

[Text] We have already grown accustomed to Soviet-U.S. summit meetings. We are also accustomed to their ending successfully and taking a step forward on the path of strengthening trust between the two countries. However, the present, sixth meeting between Presidents Gorbachev and Bush has its own special dramatic nature. I have no wish to resort to splendid epithets, although right now the majority of world leaders are making use of them, including ones such as "outstanding event, "historic," etc. This has been declared by, for example, Reagan, Kennedy, Kohl, Kaifu, the heads of government of Spain, Finland, and Czechoslovakia, and many others. And this is understandable.

G. Bush's visit to Moscow has proved a landmark. It sums up, as it were, the present state of Soviet-U.S. relations and gives the green light for the next stage. Whereas previously there was talk of getting away from confrontation and later of beginning cooperation which did not rule out rivalry—ideological, regional, etc.—there is now, in fact, talk of partnership and interaction between the two great states. Let us admit that there has never been such a thing in history before. Everything here is new and unknown. Whereas previously there was, if you like, a certain automatism and steady progress, now new questions arise at every step. Above all, the two countries must "get accustomed" to their new status. The United States—the recognized leader of the West

strengthened since the war in the Persian Gulf—must decide, as it were, whether to profit by the fruits of its successes in order to don a new uniform as the "world policeman" or whether to use its influence to build a unified world civilization with the same Soviet Union which, despite its internal difficulties, remains a great power.

And Bush chose the latter. For this he had to resolve another, no less important problem: What attitude to take to the events taking place in our country, and whether to support the explosion of centrifugal forces which are weakening the USSR and undermining its statehood or to gamble on the central power.

Bush employed all his diplomatic art to pass between Scylla and Charybdis. No one will be able to rebuke him with ignoring the new trends reflected in our republics' strengthening sovereignty, and at the same time he made it crystal clear that the only partner at state level with whom the U.S. President deals is the USSR president. Moreover, the U.S. President, an advocate of "personal diplomacy," emphasized the confidential and friendly nature of his relations with M.S. Gorbachev, which created the special atmosphere of the Moscow meeting.

At the same time good prospects are opening up (and this is the new factor in the situation) for establishing very broad ties between our republics and the United States, including investments of U.S. capital in their economies and the broadening of contacts between business people, cultural figures, students, etc.

Maybe such a result of the meeting will disappoint some among us. But a fact is a fact. Bush openly made it clear that he has no intention of interfering in our internal affairs. We ourselves must put our house in order. So it is better to set to work. Our uncle from Washington will not help here.

The signing of the treaty on strategic offensive arms was the culmination of the Moscow meeting. And it was this that got the main compliments. At the same time you do not have to be a military specialist to see that this treaty is by no means ideal and is vulnerable to criticism. But it enshrines the chief point, which has enabled all of us who live on the earth to breathe a sigh of relief. I mean the reversal of the arms race. The count is now going back down to "zero."

Nonetheless this treaty has to be defended, as the White House has done by disseminating an official statement. It points out that considerable reductions in the strategic nuclear forces deployed by both sides are envisaged for the first time in the history of arms control. Still more importantly, the Strategic Offensive Arms Treaty will strengthen strategic stability in the three main aspects:

—First, it will concentrate the reductions on the most threatening and destabilizing systems. These reductions will be equivalent to a reduction by 40-50 percent in the total number of warheads of strategic missiles deployed today.

—Second, the treaty will prompt both sides to change the structure of their strategic forces so as to make them less threatening. In accordance with this treaty a ban will be imposed on new types of heavy ICBM's [Intercontinental Ballistic Missle], and it will encourage a reorientation on a wider scale to heavy bombers, SLBM's [Sea-Launched Ballistic Missle], and ICBM's with fewer warheads on each one.

—Third, the treaty provides for numerous, diverse, unprecedented, and strict measures of verification, which are to help ensure compliance with this treaty. These measures will also help to strengthen mutual trust and to reduce uncertainty. They include a ban on encoding the data transmitted during ballistic missile flight tests, the intensive exchange of information on the size and composition of the strategic forces of each of the sides, 13 different types of on-site checks, and special verification of the production of mobile ICBM's.

All this really is a tremendous achievement. It is pointless to deny this. But it is clear even to an ordinary, untrained eye, as it is to that of a military specialist, that the emphasis here has been placed on ground missiles. Incidentally, we have more of them. Moreover, the treaty permits the modernization of strategic weapons. I will point out that this is not to reproach the treaty but to emphasize that there is still "untapped potential." A particularly large proportion of it will be revealed in the United States when the question of naval missiles and new technology arises. And I would very much like the Moscow meeting to make a start on a new START, as the abbreviation for strategic offensive arms sounds in English.

But, on the whole, disarmament questions have taken a back seat. The Moscow meeting dotted the final "i's" in respect of what is rather prosaically called economic relations and the Soviet economy's integration into the world economy. In actual fact, it is, if you like, a question of philosophy. Both the USSR and the United States had to make their choice. For us this was a question of whether to embark irrevocably on the path of reforms and democratic transformations and move decisively toward the market. For them it was a question of whether to look on this from the side with indifference and also, maybe, malicious delight or to support us and set a course to meet us head-on, so to speak.

Judging by the results of the meeting, both we and they made the choice. The process begun in London has acquired a real outline in Moscow, and the mechanism of its specific realization is being drawn up. And this is far more important than if we had simply received even billion-dollar credits now. With the economy in its present state they would, all the same, have vanished into a "black hole." Financial receipts will help when we have really gone over to the market or, at least, created its infrastructure. And these are no longer impracticable schemes but a reality. The visit by British Chancellor of

the Exchequer Lamont and his talks in Moscow confirm that the mechanism launched in London has begun working.

And the final, yet no less important point. During the meeting there was a detailed discussion of regional problems—the very ones which used to make our countries separate in different directions, like boxers in a ring. This is where cooperation seemed to be quite impossible. The statements on Yugoslavia and the Near East and the exchange of opinions on the situation in other regions and hot spots of the planet—all these are the first signs of a mutual partnership. And the chief point here is that both the USSR and the United States act as two great powers.

I will not be discovering America if I say here that both complexities and disagreements remain. They are known, for example, because Bush enumerated them in his speech at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. It is possible to agree with some of his statements and disagree with others. But I personally fully support one thought: Real reforms are the price of real partnership. Without them everything else becomes pointless.

As political leaders like to emphasize, diplomacy is the art of the possible. Of course this is so, but, looking ahead after the Moscow meeting, I would so like to repeat these famous words: Even the impossible is possible. Only I would address these words to ourselves above all. We have particular need of them.

## Bush 'Center' of 'Political Fight'

*OW0508061691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 2 Aug 91*

["Diplomatic Panorama" report by Andrey Kortunov: "American Card in the Soviet Domestic Policy"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The main feature of the just finished Soviet-American summit was that the U.S. President found himself in the very center of the internal political fight in the USSR for the first time in the history of the Soviet-American relations. Gorbachev and Yeltsin, the Ukrainians and the Baltic peoples, liberals and conservatives—all of them tried to play the American card in any way.

In my opinion President Bush succeeded in that complicated situation in general. At any rate all his main partners can feel satisfied with the results of his visit.

Gorbachev must be satisfied that the U.S. President cleared up the fact that he intended to cooperate with the Central authorities but not with the republics. Besides Bush stressed that the process of integration of the Soviet republics to the world's economic and political structures will go faster and smoother if they act together but not separately.

Yeltsin could also draw benefit from the summit. He did not only appear on the front pages refusing to join Gorbachev's team in the sumit but he managed to have a particular meeting with the U.S. President. Yeltsin's position is quite clear - Russia has its own system of foreign political aims and priorities which does not have to coincide with the Union's.

Nazarbayev could manage to distinguish himself. His loyalty to Gorbachev became of extreme importance for the last one in the face of the Yeltsin's demarche. The President of Kzakhstan probably decided to balance between the Soviet and Russian leaders without becoming a junior partner of any of them.

As far as the Baltics are concerned they should estimate the fact that the U.S. President brought up the decision on grainting independence to the Baltic republics as one of the terms of the further progress in the Soviet American relations. he also said that the Baltic problem stood apart and it was not a precedent or a model for other Soviet eapublics. Such a phrase though being juridically and morally doubtful is indeed quite convenient for the Baltic leaders.

Perhaps only radical nationalists in the Caucasus, in the Western Ukraine and in some other regions got nothing in the course of the Bush's visit. The U.S. President frankly pointed out that the United States will not support the exchange of the All-Union totalitarianism for local despotic regimes. Probably after the summit one may expect statements from Tbilisi or from Lvov on "the new Munich" or on the fact that the United States is conducting a cynical game or betraying the interests of national-liberation movements.

On the background of the complicated internal-political fight in the USSR the problems of the summit's agenda such as the signing of the START Treaty, discussion of the Middle East's problems, the problem of granting the most-favoured nation trade status to the USSR did not draw much attention of the Soviet public and press. It is evident that without reaching political stability and order in the country the worth of any agreements signed by its leaders will be close to nil.

## MFN-Status To Give Long-Term Benefit

*PM0508095591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Aug 91 Union Edition p 5*

[Report by correspondent A. Shalnev: "The Status Will Be Granted, and What Then?]

[Text] New York—What will happen if the U.S. Congress supports President Bush and ratifies the Soviet-American trade treaty signed last year and simultaneously grants Most Favored Nation [MFN] status to the USSR?

The opinion of most American economists is that instantaneous results should not be expected; in the short term there will scarcely be a lot of change in American-Soviet

trade relations, but the long-term prospects are more favorable, albeit pretty vague as yet.

The results would, of course, be visible now if the volume of our bilateral trade were not as pathetic as it actually is, when the values of our trade is only $3-4 billion per annum. Penny-ante stuff!

The United States acccounts for just 3 percent of our exports, and here we are talking mainly about supplying America with goods which were previously not subject to too significant a customs duty. These goods—primarily raw materials, for example, silver, platinum, other metals, radioactive materials, and uranium—are needed by the United States too much for it to so hike the price of them through high tariffs that it acts to the detriment of America itself.

Whereas for vodka, supplied in exchange for the supply of Pepsi-Cola to us, the price add-ons are high: Our acquisition of MFN status will knock almost a dollar off a bottle of Stolichnaya [vodka] and it will now cost around $12. For the purpose of information: Last year we supplied America alcoholic drinks worth a total of $26.5 million. According to the estimates of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL, the reduction in the price of vodka will increase demand, which will, in turn, enable Pepsi-Cola to increase the sale of its drinks in the USSR.

But we certainly want to sell America not just vodka and raw materials, the latter of which we will, by all accounts, have increasing need of ourselves. The lowering of tariffs, which sometimes reached 90 percent and the average level of which is currently of the order of 40 percent, should undoubtedly help us penetrate the American market. But the key question is: What will we supply? How will we satisfy this gigantic, very avaricious market?

Eighteen months ago a high-ranking American foreign trade official remarked in conversation with me that Moscow was probably putting so much energy into seeking MFN status for nothing; now, he said, the deplorable state of Soviet-American trade can be explained by citing prohibitive tariffs; when they are abolished, however, what excuse will be left?

It is indisputable that the expected granting of MFN status, which is enjoyed by virtually every country in the world, even those which are apparently in the camp of America's enemies, will be of primarily symbolic import in the short term: Washington is making known that it is ready to do business with us. In the long-term perspective, however, this status will enable American companies to look more favorably upon the possibility of creating enterprises in the Soviet Union, enterprises whose output could, as the THE NEW YORK TIMES writes, be exported to the United States with most-favored-nation tariffs.

This will naturally take time. As will setting up in our country the production of goods capable of attracting Americans and justifying in practice the need to lower customs barriers.

### Comparison of Bush Farewell Speech

*PM0208091591*

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 2 August 1991 carries in its Second Edition on page 4 under the general heading "Official Sendoff Ceremony in Kremlin" a TASS report of President Bush's speech at the 1 August Kremlin departure ceremony.

The PRAVDA report has been compared with the TASS English version published in the 1 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, page 24, revealing the following variations:

Column one, fourth paragraph, first sentence reads...Mr President Gorbachev!

Mrs Gorbacheva!

First, I want to express to you deep thanks from all those who have come here from the United States. I leave Moscow...[supplying alternative opening passage, picking up second paragraph sole sentence]

Column one, fifth paragraph, first sentence reads...for mutual prosperity for the Soviet economy to enter into the international mainstream...[omitting "and new hope for peace and stability" and rewording]

Column one, eighth paragraph, first sentence reads...strength of its internal leadership—that of...[adding "internal"]

Column two, second paragraph, sole sentence reads...believe in freedom. I thank you all for everything you have done for us. God bless the Soviet Union...[adding sentences]

## China

### Scientist on Fusion Cooperation With PRC

*OW0208180991 Moscow Radio Moscow in Mandarin 1300 GMT 1 Aug 91*

[From the "Half an Hour With Wang Xiao" program]

[Text] At the invitation of the USSR's Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Energy [KIAE], experts from the Institute of Plasma Physics [IPP] of the Chinese Academy of Sciences [CAS] visited Moscow recently. They spoke highly of the standard of scientific research conducted by their Soviet counterparts. The visit was made as a result of an agreement signed last year between Soviet and Chinese scientific institutes engaged in similar research.

Our station reporter Machinko contacted the KIAE by telephone. Vilkipolok, chief engineer of the institute's thermonuclear fusion laboratory, spoke to our reporter.

[Begin Vilkipolok recording in Russian, fading into Mandarin translation] In accordance with the agreement on cooperation, we delivered to our Chinese counterparts a light tokamak thermonuclear device developed by our institute. The ultimate goal of using this device in research is to construct power stations in the future. The fuel used by those power stations will not be oil but hydrogen isotopes that are available everywhere in nature. China suffers an acute power shortage. Hence, it earnestly hopes to utilize power generated by thermonuclear fusion. Besides, it also needs to solve a series of complex problems. The principal problem is learning how to control gases and keep them in plasmatic state for a definite period of time. This can only be accomplished by using devices working in powerful (?magnetic fields) at temperatures higher than 100 million degrees Celsius.

The Soviet scientist continued: For the time being, China is still at the intermediate stage of thermonuclear fusion research, whereas we rank among the world's top four with the United States, France, and Japan in this field.

In order to assist our Chinese counterparts and friends, we delivered a light tokamak device to the IPP under the CAS. Apart from this, the agreement on cooperation also calls for joint scientific experiments. Chinese experts have studied in Moscow and exchanged their achievements in scientific research with their Moscow counterparts. Many staff members of the IPP under the CAS have studied in Moscow. This will not only help promote understanding between the two sides in their professional fields, but will also enhance mutual understanding in other areas.

It should be pointed out that the IPP is not the KIAE's only cooperative partner in China. The KIAE is also working with China High Precision Technology Company in applying an X-ray machine developed by its scientist (Kumapov) to industrial production. The X-ray machine is an indispensable device in electronic and optical technologies. In the medical field, it can be used to conduct the most accurate diagnoses of the most critical illnesses. Other Chinese partners in this project include the Import and Export Corporation of the Ministry of Aeronautics and Astronautics Industry and Beijing Teachers' University .

The Soviet Union has scored great achievements in basic scientific research. China, with its excellent industrial base, is currently in a position to apply these achievements. The two sides see broad prospects for Soviet-Chinese cooperation in advanced technology.

## Yazov Greets PRC Counterpart on Army Anniversary

*PM0208141791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Aug 91 First Edition p 1*

[Message by Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, USSR defense minister, to Colonel General Qin Jiwei, PRC defense minister, on the 64th anniversary of the foundation of the Chinese People's Liberation Army; date not given]

[Text] To Comrade Colonel General Qin Jiwei, PRC Defense Minister

Esteemed Comrade Minister,

On behalf of the personnel of the USSR Armed Services I congratulate you and all Chinese People's Liberation Army personnel on the 64th anniversary of its formation.

I am convinced that relations between our countries' armies will consistently develop in the interests of security and stability in the Asian and Pacific region and throughout the world.

I wish you, Esteemed Comrade Qin Jiwei, good health, happiness, and success in your responsible work.

Marshal of the Soviet Union D. Yazov, USSR minister of defense

## PRC Observers Attend Far East Army Exercise

*PM0208113391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Jul 91 First Edition p 2*

[Unattributed report: "In the USSR Armed Forces"]

[Text] An Army staff exercise aimed at perfecting combat proficiency and rehearsing troop interaction and control matters took place in the Far East Military District in the period from 24-26 July 1991.

Staffs from combined and single units were involved in the exercise. The overall number of participants reached 1,000.

Chinese military observers attended the exercise.

## Army Chief of Staff To Visit USSR

*PM0208100891 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Aug 91 First Edition p 3*

[Text] Colonel General Chi Haotian, chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army General Staff, is to pay an official visit to the Soviet Union 5 through 12 August 1991, at the invitation of Army General M.A. Moiseyev, chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff and USSR first deputy defense minister.

## Near East & South Asia

### Reportage on Middle East Peace Conference

#### Foreign Ministry on Israeli Policy

*LD0208193391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1851 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Moscow, 2 August, (TASS)—A TASS correspondent asked a USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman to comment on reports that Israel has agreed to take part in a peace conference on the Middle East.

The USSR Foreign Ministry spokesman stated:

"We welcome the fact that all parties directly involved in the conflict are moving towards a peace conference on the Middle East. By all accounts Israel has given its assent to the peace conference as proposed by the Soviet Union and the United States of America in their capacity as co-sponsors and co-chairmen of the forthcoming forum, i.e. a conference without preconditions. We consider it extremely important not to miss the chance for bilateral and multilateral negotiations which would be conducted in the framework of this conference. We also believe that Israel understands the need to halt the building of new settlements on occupied territories, at least in the context of the peace conference.

"One would like to dwell on the position of the Palestinians including the PLO. Our contacts with them and in particular letters recently received from the PLO leadership to USSR President Mihail Gorbachev and USSR Foreign Minister Aleksandr Bessmertnykh have shown that the Palestinians are adopting a flexible and serious position and understand the importance of availing themselves of the exising chance to advance the negotiating process for the purpose of ensuring the legitimate interests of the Palestinian people. We also informed the American side of this approach of the Palestinians in the course of the talks in Moscow a few days ago. "On the whole one cannot but express satisfaction over the fact that the joint efforts of the USSR and the United States of America, which were convincingly expressed in the statement on the Middle East that was adopted at the Moscow summit meeting, are leading to perceptible and weighty results".

#### Commentary Assesses Statement

*LD0408012191 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1400 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Commentary by (Aleksandr Krasnov)—read by announcer]

[Text] In analyzing the USSR-U.S. summit results, definite conclusion can be drawn on the fruitful nature of cooperation between the two superpowers on a number of international and regional issues. This appeared when settling the Angolan and Namibian conflicts; it is now the Middle East's turn. Not all people in the world accept the reality of USSR-U.S. cooperation, particularly those who have not yet abandoned the inflexible molds of the Cold War era, characterized by political confrontation between the two states in the region. However, the practical results of USSR-U.S. cooperation in crises speak for themselves, says (Aleksandr Krasnov).

Of particular importance today is the joint summit statement on the Middle East. Such statements were issued before, especially in October 1977, but at foreign ministry level. Therefore, the pro-Israeli and the Jewish lobby quarters across the ocean were able to undermine the execution of the commitments which the two states had undertaken. It is unlikely now that such attempts would be successful since the two Presidents have signed the joint statement.

For the first time, the U.S. side has referred to a just and durable Middle East peace—this is Soviet terminology—the essence of which is that peace in the region can only be established when it is just, i.e. responds to the interests of all the parties involved in the conflict. Naturally, justice can be interpreted in many ways, but, as far as the Arab-Israeli conflict is concerned, it has only one meaning: There is no way for real justice to conquer unless the Israeli forces withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories and the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are guaranteed.

As Soviet journalist (Aleksandr Krasnov) points out, the U.S.-USSR statement's recognition of the Palestinians—one of the parties directly invoved in the conflict—holds a particular importance since it also means recognizing the need for their direct participation in settling the dispute. Also important is the fact that the Gorbachev-Bush statement was issued in Moscow. Our commentator believes that this refutes allegations in the Arab world that the Soviet Union plays a weak role in the Middle East settlement. Once again, it was stressed that a durable peace in the region is impossible without the Soviet Union's participation.

Finally, Israel has been put in a complex situation as a result of the USSR-U.S. summit in Moscow. If the Israeli leadership insists on its intransigent conditions for convening the peace conference, the conference will be undermined, and, in this case, a truly historic opportunity for organizing a fruitful peace process in the region would really be lost. Of course, today, when Israel agrees to participate in the conference, it should not be assumed that it will abandon the attempts to complicate extremely its work and turn it into endless empty words. Doing so under the present circumstances would be very difficult and very dangerous to Israel itself.

At the end of his commentary, Soviet journalist (Aleksandr Krasnov), who specializes in Arab affairs, writes: Thus, honorable listeners, I have enjoyed sharing these thoughts, the result of analyis of the discussions between the USSR and U.S. Presidents on settlement in the Middle East, most importanly, the issuing of the joint statement and the commencement of the practical execution of its provisions.

## Peace Prospects Viewed

*PM0408135591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 91 Second Edition p 5*

[Nikolay Shishlin "Viewpoint": "Peace Is Attainable"]

[Text] The Gulf war and its consequences can be reduced to a single sentence; The political landscape in the Near East has changed dramatically.

Everything looks normal. Capitals, countries, political forces, and leaders are where they should be. The chronic conflicts and squabbles have not ceased to exist. But the overall picture has changed.

A year since the start of the aggression the future of the Baghdad regime looks cloudy. The weakened, humiliated dictator still suits some people more than new actors appearing on the Iraqi political scene with unpredictable aspirations. But the Baghdad regime's chemical, bacteriological, and developing nuclear teeth will be extracted. That will help improve the general state of the Iraqi people and the Near East. Admittedly, I would like Baghdad to display reason and Washington reasonable restraint.

The war had tremendous reprecussions. I've mentioned Iraq. Smoldering Kuwait is putting out the fires and vigorously working to restore the robbers' devastation. There is also room for Soviet oil workers and fire fighters in this noble work. I hope that it is time to move on from intentions to actions. Lebanon is emerging from a long civil war. The Gulf countries, not content with the U.S. "umbrella," are striving to enrich and diversify their international ties, above all by building up relations with the Soviet Union. The PLO, which made a major miscalculation with its unhesitating "love affair" with Baghdad, clearly needs new ideas and to realistically consider the interests of various Palestinian groups. Israel, it seems, is beginning to look for the thread that would help both it and its Arab neighbors to emerge from the fatal Near East labyrinth.

The disaster of the latest war highlighted the intolerability of preserving the Near East conflict. People in Washington have realized this. The U.S. secretary of state's five trips to the Near East in recent months are real evidence of this. The U.S. plan—or, as it is being called, the Bush plan (our newspaper has described it)—is winning more and more supporters. The convening of an international conference chaired by the United States and the USSR has already won Syria's support. Israel's Prime Minister Shamir has said "yes" to the quest for peace—not a very clear "yes," but "yes" all the same. There are many uncertainties and tight knots that are hard to unravel. The good thing is that the desire to escape from the vicious circle of hatred and enmity is growing stronger.

The five permanent members of the Security Council agreed in Paris to stop arms shipments to the Near East. The road to solutions is not a short one. But the Paris meeting is further evidence of the growing understanding and mutual understanding which the Near East countries need to help acquire peace.

Comparatively recently the head of the Soviet foreign policy department toured a number of countries in the Near East. These countries included an extremely brief visit to Israel. I believe that our top diplomats' future trips to the Near East will be fuller and richer in terms of geography. We are beginning to skirt the snares and traps created by our own dogmas and stereotypes back in the sixties or by recommendations made by our "privileged friends" living in the past. It is high time to talk to all countries in the Near East without exception.

What about results? There will be results. Persistence, imagination, and the ability to work together with Arab countries, Palestinians, Israel, and, needless to say, with the whole world community are what are needed.

## Conference 'No Occasion for Euphoria'

*PM0508100491 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4*

[Article by A. Ostalskiy: "No Occasion for Euphoria..."]

[Text] For the first time it can be said with confidence that the peace conference on the Near East that has been so much discussed in recent years may really take place. And that is the direct consequence of the latest Soviet-U.S. summit meeting.

The joint statement on the Near East adopted by the presidents of the two superpowers has made further procrastination by the Israeli side impossible. This was virtually admitted by the prime minister himself, who stated Thursday that Israel will apparently be taking part in the conference. "After all the efforts made by the United States and supported by the Soviet Union... I believe it (the conference) will take place," I. Shamir said.

Due credit must, of course, be given to the U.S. Administration, which has kept its promise—to do everything possible to secure progress in a Near East settlement after the end of the Persian Gulf war. (It is symbolic that the positive news from Jerusalem came on the eve of the first anniversary of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.) It must be noted yet again that all this became possible thanks to the new international atmosphere and the USSR's new positive and constructive role (although our policy in the region could, I think, be more active, but that is another, separate topic). But there is no occasion for euphoria. For all the significance of what has happened, an actual settlement of the Near East conflict, or even an approach to it, is still an extremely long way off. After all, even if the question of Palestinian representation at the conference, which has yet to be fully clarified, is successfully resolved and the conference opens on time, it will immediately find itself facing very difficult problems. And these are not imaginary, artificial problems, but very real problems reflecting a profound conflict

between the sides' interests. For instance, the Arabs will come to the conference with the objective of "exchanging peace for territory," that is, obtaining from Israel territorial concessions, the liberation of the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the Jordan, the Gaza Strip, and part of Jerusalem, in exchange for the normalization of relations with the Jewish state—roughly on the Camp David pattern. The Palestinians consider it important first and foremost to create their own state, and the vast majority of Israelis are not prepared to agree to that, fearing that its emergence will immediately create a new and serious threat to their very existence. And the present Israeli Government totally rejects the "territory for peace" formula (although the opposition favors it). I could go on enumerating the almost insurmountable contradictions between the parties to the conflict, but it is already clear that the road to lasting peace is still so long that the destination is lost somewhere beyond the horizon. But the first step has indeed been taken.

### Visiting Palestinian Official Interviewed

*LD0408140591 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1730 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Interview with Ibrahim Abu Lughud, member of the Palestine National Council [PNC], by correspondent Oleg Nikolayev in Moscow, date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] Ladies and gentlemen. We have already announced that the Palestinian National Council delegation, under the leadership of Dr. Ibrahim Abu Lughud, had paid an official visit to Moscow. The delegation had meetings with leaders from the USSR Supreme Soviet and Gennadiy Yanayev, the Soviet vice president, as well as other officials.

PNC members acquainted their Soviet colleagues on the situation inside Palestine and around it, and coordinated with them the stances of the two parliaments on the Middle East problem in the light of the probable forthcoming peace conference.

Our correspodent met with Dr. Abu Lughud, the delegation's head, and asked him to evaluate the development regarding the convening of the international conference on the Middle East and who should represent the Palestinian people in the peace conference, in particular.

[Abu Lughud] Today's real issue is the need for a clear stance. The Soviet side has fully been recognizing that the PLO is the sole representative of our people. There is no argument about this between the the Palestinian and the Soviet sides, nor among the rest the of Arab countries. Furthermore, the international community and the United Nations have also been recognizing this.

However, the United States does not recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. According to the records it has never recognized such a right, and therefore does not recognize the Palestinian people's right to be represented by its legitimate organization because representation is part of the right to self-determination. The Palestinian people have decided that the PLO is their sole and legitimate representative. If the United States changes its mind and recognizes the Palestinian people's right to self-determination, it will also recognize that the PLO is their representative. However, we are today facing a situation in which we can say that the United States does know that the PLO represents the Palestinian people, but does not deal with the PLO with such a perception.

There is also the the Israeli stance, which does not recognize the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and rejects the PLO out of hand. The Israeli stance is, moreover, only concerned with its war against the PLO.

Therefore the situation we are facing today is as follow: If you are going to convene an international conference in accordance with international legality, which can be found in the UN resolutions, including UN Security Council resolution 242 and 338, then the parties concerned with the dispute should adopt such resolutions. Thereby an invitation should accordingly be sent to the concerned parties. Here a question should be asked: Who is the Palestinian side? Everyone agrees that the Palestinian-Israeli dispute is very important, and therefore a solution must be found for it. But who should speak on the Palestinians' behalf? Of course the Palestinian people have been insisting that the PLO is their representative. The PLO was the one who allowed Faysal al-Husayni, Hanan 'Ashrawi, and Dr. Zakariya al-Agha to negotiate with Mr. Baker. This delegation had handed Mr. Baker its official document, which insisted that they were representing the PLO.

[Nikolayev, interrupting] Israel has, however, rejected Faysal al-Husayni, because he is from East Jerusalem, as the Jews have been saying.

[Abu-Lughud] The Israelis reject any connection with the PLO. The Israelis reject anyone from Jerusalem—not only Faysal al- Husayni, but anyone from there. The Israeli stance is therefore an intransigent one.

Therefore here one should concern oneself with the U.S. stance, because it is the United States and the Soviet Union which decide who can be present. Isreal here should not have a right to a veto. The United States has a veto. Therefore we should all endeavor to find a formula which the United States can accept and subsequently can impose upon Israel, without having to say it is imposing it, because if the United States wants something, Israel cannot do anything about it.

[Nikolayev] However, nearly all politicians from the West Bank and the Gaza Strip are committed to the organization, and all Palestinians who are not committed to the organization do not represent the Palestinian people, so what is the solution? [as heard]

[Abu Lughud] I believe that the issue now is the fact that there is an universal agreement that at this very moment there is no substitute for the PLO. The problem remains,

however, how the (international) conference, and the United States in particular, would deal with such an agreement. The PLO as an organization will not directly take part in the conference. However, any person attending such a conference must have a legitimacy bestowed upon him by the PLO. The United States does not demand that a person who is not authorized by the PLO should be found. Here there is agreement. Of course Israel does not want the conference; Israel does not want a settlement; Israel does not want to negotiate; Israel does want the Palestinian people; and Israel does not want the PLO. However, what really matters at this moment is what the United States accepts, because the United States and the Soviet Union are those who will be calling for the holding of the peace conference, and those who can make it successful or decide not to hold it at all. It is not in the hands of Israel or the Arab countries. Therefore the matter is an international one, concerning two sides.

According to this logic, and from what had become clear to us following our talks with Soviet officials, they wanted the organization to be flexible in dealing with this international situation, because what is involved here, at least at the surface, is the problem of the joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation as a formula for attending the conference. We, the PLO, are prepared to attend the conference as an independent party within an Arab delegation. We, the PLO, believe that the Palestinian problem is the main cause of the conflict between Palestine and Israel. Therefore we should be the ones in charge of Palestine.

Therefore if the Arab-Israeli dispute is going to be resolved within the framework of the Palestinian cause, then we ought to go to the conference in an single delegation. However, if we are not going to attend in a single delegation, would then a joint Jordanian-Palestinian delegation provide an independent representation for the Palestinian people? We think if such a delegation has within it two parties, a Jordanian party representing Jordan and an independent Palestinian one, under the chairmanship of a Palestinian official, the PLO should then be responsible for the appointment of the delegation's members. Any person appointed in such a Palestinian delegation, whether he was in the Jordanian party or on his own, is independent and appointed by the PLO.

The way we can see it is like this: the Soviet Union wants the PLO to deal with this situation so that the conference can go ahead, as without it there will be no solution. The first step should therefore be an agreement about the convening of such a conference, and who should take part in it. Once we are able to reach a reasonable formula, and the invitation is sent, then we should look into it. Afterwards one should look into other issues tabled for discussion at the conference.

The question is now whether a peace conference is to take place or not. We want a peace conference because we will be gaining from any peace. The Soviet Union wants a peace conference. Syria wants a peace conference. Egypt want a peace conference. But does the United States want one? I think the United States wants one. That is why I think that the U.S. initiative does in its essence agree with the Soviet perception was announced long before, because the Soviet Union has for a long time rejected the Israeli occupation. [Passage omitted]

### Discusses Visit

*LD0408021191 Moscow Radio Moscow in Arabic 1400 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Interview with Ibrahim Abu Lughud, member of the Palestine National Council (PNC), by correspondent Oleg Nikolayev in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Nikolayev] The first question, naturally and traditionally, concerns the results of your visit and discussions in the Supreme Soviet and with other Soviet officials.

[Abu Lughud] We, as a Palestinian delegation—probably the first parliamentary delegation—have been very successful in our mission. We met Soviet officials at the highest political levels, including the Supreme Soviet chairman; Mr. Nishanov; then the deputy foreign minister; then the official responsible for international affairs in the Supreme Soviet, who is a former ambassador to Syria; and Vice President Yanayev. We then went to Leningrad, where we met the municipal council and its president and solidarity and friendship societies. The meetings were intensive and very useful. We feel that the Soviet side is very interested in us as a Palestinian delegation from the PNC, and they want to make us feel, without exception, that the Soviet position toward the Palestinian question is constant in its direction: support for the Palestinian people's right to self-determination; the need to end the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza, and for us the West Bank, of course, includes Jerusalem; and the need to end the Israeli occupation of all the Arab regions which it occupied in 1967. We know that this is the constant Soviet position, historically, but the Soviet side also explained—and we, too, are aware—that there is very important Soviet political restructuring going on—represented in the Council of Nationalities and others, as well as in the new democratic approach and the pluralist approach which the Soviet Union is following—in addition to an important international factor, namely the restructuring of USSR-U.S. relations. Thus, new factors affect Soviet political decisions and the manner in which the Soviets deal with the United States, in particular, and with the world.

From this premise, we discussed issues that concern us: ending the Israeli occupation and the Jewish settlement; Jewish Soviet immigration; and settling the Middle East conflict, the subject which concerns us both at the same time. The settlement, at any rate, supposedly belongs to the U.S. secretary of state, and, with Soviet cooperation,

they want to find a solution and a formula for convening an international peace conference and, consequently, bringing the conference to a successful conclusion by establishing peace in the region. These are sensitive issues. We felt—and the Soviet officials stressed to us—that they support the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and that they feel that the present conditions require all parties to be patient and flexible, including the Palestinian party, to make the peace process succeed. They are committed to this success, and they completely foster it. Their participation in the international conference means that they will participate in dealing with the various parties, including the United States, in accordance with the international common ground for settling this conflict.

[Nikolayev] Let us revert to your delegation's visit to the Soviet Union. Have you signed any official documents or reached any official agreement?

[Abu Lughud] We came as a delegation representing the PNC and not as representatives of the PLO executive bodies. We did not sign any agreements, and that was not even an issue for discussion. We conveyed the Soviet point of view to the Palestinian leadership, and the Soviet officials promised to study and reply to the proposals and activities submitted to the Soviet side. For example, we proposed an increase in the visits of Soviet delegations to occupied Palestine. We want Soviet delegations for fact-finding in the region or for exhibiting Soviet cultural activity in the West Bank and the Strip. We want a Soviet presence in our occupied lands. They responded to this, and they believe that it is a good thing. We proposed, for example, a twinning between Leningrad and an occupied Palestinian city, like Gaza. The Leningrad Municipal Council promised to study this project, and we proposed this to the Palestinian leadership so that they may form a delegation from Palestinian cities to come to the Soviet Union and reach an understanding with their counterparts in these countries. We proposed intensifying the Palestinian presence in this country and sending a Palestinian economic delegation of able Palestinian financiers to participate in joint ventures in the Soviet economy. We also proposed that we participate in this and, thus, urge Palestinian financiers through the Palestinian leadership and through our personal contacts, but it was not required or expected that we sign any agreement with the Soviet Union.

[Nikolayev] Nevertheless, I understand that the visit was successful.

[Abu Lughud] Very. I believe that the visit was extremely successful. We stressed to the Soviet Union that we are pleased with the invitation. It left us with a strong impression and emphasized the correctness of the historic relations between the Soviet Union and the Palestinian people and the Arab nation, in general. We conveyed this in our report, which was FAXed to the Palestinian leadership. We are very thankful. I officially declared to the Soviet side that we thank them very much, and we appreciate their efforts and their appreciation of the Palestinian position, the PLO, and the Palestinian people.

## East Europe

### SFRY's Markovic Continues Visit to USSR

#### Holds Discussion With Gorbachev

*PM0508082791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Aug 91 Second Edition pp 1, 5*

[TASS report: "Meeting in Kremlin"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev received Ante Markovic, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, in the Kremlin 2 August. There was a broad discussion of Yugoslavia's problems and of bilateral relations in the present complex period through which both countries are living.

A. Markovic described in detail the development of events in his country and the international situation around Yugoslavia. A frank, friendly exchange of opinions revealed many points of coincidence and instructive conclusions from the situation in both states.

The state of economic ties was examined attentively. They agreed to take all possible measures to rectify on mutually advantageous grounds the trade and economic exchange which has deteriorated sharply in recent years.

The USSR president formulated the Soviet Union's position regarding the Yugoslav crisis.

The international community and European states can help to settle it only along the lines of the Helsinki process, guided strictly and consistently by the principles of the Paris Charter for a new Europe, which, as is known, include states' territorial integrity, the inviolability of borders, peaceful methods of action, and a democratic approach to states' necessary transformations which, including particular forms of self-determination, only these peoples themselves have the right to implement, by voluntary agreement and within the framework of legality. In this case it is a question of the republics of Yugoslavia themselves reaching agreement, without outside intereference, on new relations among themselves and on the new nature of statehood. Good services on the part of international organizations and other states are possible only at the request of, and with the knowledge and participation of, the legitimate government.

The Soviet Union believes that all people within Yugoslavia itself and outside it who sincerely wish the peoples of this country well at a difficult moment in its history and who are committed to the cause of building a new Europe must show the maximum responsibility and understanding of the fact that civil war and the collapse

of Yugoslavia are fraught with tragic consequences also for the beneficial international processes by which recent years have been marked.

Al. Mitrovic, vice president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, and Ambassador An. Runjic participated.

### Discusses Yugoslav Crisis

*LD0208155291 Moscow TASS in English 1539 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev on Friday received Chairman of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council Ante Markovic to discuss Yugoslav internal problems and bilateral relations.

Markovic informed Gorbachev about the latest developments in Yugoslavia and the international situation around his country. A candid and friendly discussion revealed many coinciding views and helped draw conclusions for the future.

Gorbachev and Markovic focused on economic cooperation. They agreed to take resolute measures to normalise deteriorating trade and economic cooperation between both countries.

The Soviet president informed Markovic about the Soviet Unions' position on the crisis in Yugoslavia.

The international community and European states can jointly settle the crisis within the framework of the Helsinki process, gradually and strictly observing the principles of the Charter of Paris for a new Europe. Those include territorial integrity of a state, the inviolability of its borders, peaceful means of action and a democratic approach towards the need for reconstruction, which can be carried out, including various forms of self-determination, only by the peoples of the state by their mutual consent and in accordance with law.

This means that Yugoslavia's republics themselves, without outside intervention, should come to agreement on a new nature of statehood. International organisations and other states should offer their services only at the request of the Yugoslav Government and with its participation.

The Soviet Union believes that everybody inside and outside Yugoslavia, who wishes well to its peoples at this crucial moment and who is devoted to the cause of building a new Europe should show utmost responsibility and understand that a civil war in Yugoslavia and its disintegration are fraught with tragic consequences for beneficial international processes that marked the past years.

### Meets Yeltsin

*LD0208132391 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1225 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Moscow, 2 Aug (TASS)— Boris Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] president, received Ante Markovic, chairman of the SFRY Federal Council, in the Kremlin on Thursday. According to the RSFSR president's press secretary, the conversation touched upon a broad range of issues bearing upon the strengthening of relations between the Russian Federation and Yugoslavia.

The possibility of developing bilateral economic links between the two states, especially after the signing of a Union treaty by the sovereign republics of the USSR, was noted. An accord was attained on preparing a broad economic agreement between the RSFSR and the SFRY.

An exchange of information took place on the situation in the Russian Federation and Yugoslavia, on stabilization measures adopted by the government, and on the approach to reforming the political and economic system. In connection with this, having mentioned the Russian leadership's concern over the events in Yugoslavia, which has resulted in human casualties, the RSFSR president expressed hope that the country's internal problems would be solved by peaceful means, by dialogue, and without the use of military force. Support was given to the European Community countries' efforts promoting settlement to the crisis in Yugoslavia.

The president wished the leadership of Yugoslavia and its republics success in a search for mutually acceptable solutions to preserve the historically shaped statehood—something that meets not only the interests of all the peoples populating that country, but also the interests of peace and stability in Europe.

### Signs Protocol on Talks

*LD0208122691 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1133 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Moscow, 2 Aug (TASS)—A concrete result of the talks held on Thursday between Valentin Pavlov, USSR prime minister, and Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council of Yugoslavia, who is in Moscow on a working visit, is the protocol signed in the Kremlin today during the working meeting of the heads of government of the two countries. It was signed by Valentin Pavlov and Ante Markovic.

The document consolidates the results of the discussions by the heads of government of questions of bilateral cooperation and measures for implementing the understandings and agreements.

Work in this direction will be continued in Moscow for the next few days by a group of representatives of the Yugoslav cabinet headed by Aleksandar Mitrovic, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, who together

with the Soviet side will draw up documents ensuring the realization of the agreements reached by Valentin Pavlov and Ante Markovic.

### Holds News Conference With Pavlov

*LD0208140191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1315 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[By correspondent Ruben Shirinyan]

[Text] Moscow, 2 Aug (TASS)—Today USSR Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov expressed support for the decision adopted by the European Community and the United States on the embargo of arms deliveries to Yugoslavia. Together with Ante Markovic, president of the SFRY Federal Executive Council, he spoke at a news conference on the results of the working visit to the USSR by the head of the government of Yugoslavia.

Valentin Pavlov stressed that the USSR is against any interference in the domestic affairs of Yugoslavia, and for that reason unconditionally supports the embargo on arms deliveries. The Soviet prime minister also spoke in favor of supporting the Brussels agreements between Yugoslavia and the European Community.

Ante Markovic noted the great importance of the joint statement of the presidents of the USSR and the United States on the situation in Yugoslavia and stated that it "will facilitate a democratic and peaceful settlement to the conflict."

The head of the SFRY Federal Executive Council also stressed the importance of the agreement achieved in the course of his visit to the USSR on lifting the blockade of the barter between the USSR and Yugoslavia, which fell sharply in the first six months of the year. According to him, the sides agreed to expand the volume of mutual trade up to $4 billion to the end of this year. Yugoslavia will supply the USSR with consumer goods and medicines, and in return it will get oil, gas, coking coal, and cotton.

### Further on News Conference

*LD0208204191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1730 GMT 2 Aug 92*

[Text] In Moscow talks were held between USSR Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov and Ante Markovic, chairman of the SFRY Federal Council. After the talks a protocol was signed on the working meeting of the heads of government of the two countries.

The document underpins the results of the discussion of bilateral cooperation and measures for the implementation of the accords and agreements that have been arrived at. After signing the documents Valentin Pavlov and Ante Markovic held a joint news conference. In his opening statement, the head of the Soviet Government said, among other things:

[Begin Pavlov recording] I think there is no need for me to say in this hall that the destinies of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the USSR are historically very closely interwoven with one another. Mutual empathy and, I would say, the spiritual closeness of the peoples of these countries are rooted in the distant past. This has always been so and is evident above all at times when difficulties of some kind arise, or complex problems that require friendly participation that is more active and speedy than ordinary comradely exchange and support.

We understand very well that the need for this visit after our recent meeting in Belgrade arose above all because of a serious change in the republic itself, in tackling economic problems at the level of inter-state relations and at the level of republics and enterprises, which is especially important. Today they have assumed a different coloring—a coloring carrying a political connotation—and therefore a speedy way out of certain dead-end situations that had come about in our relations was required. These are in fact the contents of our one-to-one meetings and conversations, as well as those with the participation and help of our comrades and experts. [end recording]

Commenting on the contents of the accords attained, the chairman of the SFRY Federal Council said this: In the course of my meetings and conversations with the Soviet leaders, the parties expressed mutual interest in the peaceful, democratic development of events in Yugoslavia. The preservation of the unity of Yugoslavia, and its territorial integrity could ensure its return to the path of democratization and reform which it was following before the fall of last year. As everyone knows, until that time the reforms in Yugoslavia had yielded such significant results that our country became an example of how an inefficient social system can be replaced in the most rational way by a new, modern, economically effective society built on a multi-party principle, providing its citizens with all rights and freedoms, and ensuring the state's judicial functions. Six months ago my counterpart Pavlov and I signed the protocol providing for a turnover of trade at the level of $4 billion. However, during the implementation of those accords, we ran into difficulties because of the transformation of Yugoslav society as well as the processes under way in the USSR.

The document we signed today must create conditions for the paralysis that has emerged in the turnover of trade to be eliminated and for the level of trade turnover formerly envisaged to be ensured. This is in the interests of both our countries.

Yugoslavia is prepared to supply the USSR with the goods it needs—consumer goods, medicine, foodstuffs, and items of machine building. For our part, we would like to obtain the goods we need: above all oil, gas, coke, cotton, and other commodities necessary for the normal functioning of our economy. The main problem is that of payments. Therefore we decided to ensure a regime of mutual supplies which would enable us to make up for

the arrears in the last six months and to ensure that trade turnover reaches the planned level of $4 billiion by the end of the year.

Then Comrade Pavlov and Ante Markovic answered journalists' questions. In particular, in response to a question on the USSR's attitude to the USSR and EEC embargo on arms supplies to Yugoslavia, the head of the Soviet Government said:

[Begin Pavlov recording] Generally, in this respect we do not see any problem whatever for ourselves. We believe that we have made our position quite clear: On no account should anyone interfere in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. I mean that the internationalization of the conflict must be prevented. The conflict existing today between individual republics, between individual nationalities—this is an internal conflict. It must be tackled on the basis of political negotiations and decisions made by Yugoslavia's peoples themselves. Any attempt by anyone at all to supply weapons to Yugoslavia under whatever specious pretext means interference in her internal affairs. That is our position. [end recording]

### Press Conference Continued

*OW0508075091 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At Friday's news conference given jointly with the Yugoslav prime minister Ante Markovic the Soviet premier Valentin Pavlov pointed out that his country has no intention of interfering in Yugoslavia's internal affairs, and that the conflict in Yugoslavia shold not be internationalized. He spoke against arms shipments to Yugoslavia.

When asked by IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent how he takes into account the future Union treaty in his international negotiations Valentin Pavlov said: "We proceed from the principle of a unified economic space and interest in the deliveries of goods to the USSR and from it".

In the Soviet Union there is strong opposition to the plans to make the rouble convertible, the prime minister said. It stems largely from the circle of officials who would like to continue to divide hard currency earnings.

Ante Markovic said he is satisfied with his talks in Moscow, particularly with his meeting with President Gorbachev. "Both sides are resolute in their intention to develop their relationship", the Yugoslav prime minister pointed out.

### Departs After News Conference

*LD0208172991 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1614 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Moscow, 2 Jul (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic left Moscow late this afternoon with the assurances of the Soviet leadership that it is for a peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis and that this resolution should be found by the Yugoslav peoples themselves, ensuring the inviolability of the state borders and respecting the Helsinki and Paris documents of the conference on European security.

At about noon today, Ante Markovic received USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev. In talks that the Yugoslav prime minister assessed as very cordial and businesslike, Gorbachev repeated the Soviet standpoints and acquainted his guest with the details of his talks about Yugoslavia with U.S. President George Bush.

At a joint press conference with his host, Valentin Pavlov, immediately prior to his departure for Yugoslavia, Markovic told journalists that the Soviet leadership had declared itself in favor of a peaceful and democratic resolution of the Yugoslav crisis, accompanied by the preservation of the integrity of Yugoslavia. He added that the joint assessment is that this would make it possible for Yugoslavia to return to the course of the reforms that up until last year, in his view, "were producing fascinating results and serving as an example for everyone."

The Yugoslav prime minister went on to tell the Soviet and foreign journalists that Yugoslavia is interested in Soviet political, material, and economic support. In the sphere of the economy, this is a matter of overcoming the stagnation in trade, which started in the first half of this year. Earlier today the two prime ministers signed a protocol containing the elements of moves to unblock this situation, which over the coming days will be elaborated on in Moscow by FEC Vice President Aleksandar Mitrovic and other Yugoslav representatives with their Soviet colleagues.

According to Markovic, the unblocking of trade will ensure that by the end of the year, what was lost in the first half of the year will be made up, and that the trade agreement, which envisages that $4 billion of trade is achieved this year, will be implemented virtually in its entirety.

Regarding the Soviet prime minister's statement during the press conference, held in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs press center, it was noted that he had agreed with the U.S. and EC embargo on arms exports to Yugoslavia. The Soviet Union, Pavlov said, is against any interference in Yugoslavia's internal affairs and therefore "endorses unconditionally an embargo on arms exports."

Asked whether, like the EC, the USSR intends to send its observers to Yugoslavia, Pavlov said that the USSR

would not do so without Yugoslavia's invitation and agreement. At this point in time he does not see the need for Soviet observers to be sent. However, if Yugoslavia asked, the request would be considered.

Pavlov also made the assessment that he sees no real threat of any state individually or of a community of states meddling in Yugoslavia's internal affairs. The USSR does not consider, in his view, that the Yugoslav problem has been internationalized because EC observers are there and because this Community's ministers are due to arrive. The agreement for this has been given by the Yugoslav Government and this is a Yugoslav internal issue, Pavlov said.

The journalists received very few details about the talks with Mikhail Gorbachev in his Kremlin cabinet, where this morning, at the beginning of the meeting, Yugoslav journalists were present. Regarding the details, which were not passed on by Prime Minister Markovic, the journalists' questions were answered by Gorbachev, who made the evaluation that it is not at all easy building "the European home," but that this does not mean that we should now destroy our homes to build a new Europe.

### 'Fears' Over SFRY Crisis Analyzed

*LD0408121191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1101 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[By Mihailo Sarnovic]

[Text] Moscow, Aug 4 (TANJUG)—Soviet political quarters keep considering Yugoslavia's crisis for taking diplomatic and other actions to end armed conflicts in this country.

Moscow is genuinely concerned about Yugoslavia's crisis for several reasons, like the crisis' possibly affecting processes in the Soviet Union and Europe.

The Kremlin has apparently been surprised by the mounting crisis in Yugoslavia which was held to be a stable and secure country striding ahead to make up for the years lost and to welcome well prepared the next century and millenium.

Fears are now growing in Moscow where separatism trends also are known since six out of the 15 republics want to secede.

The Soviet top leaders are particularly concerned about the fact that the decomposition of Yugoslavia might very adversely reflect on European integration processes. Events in Yugoslavia flow against the logic of Europe's unification and the building of a common home the main architects of which are Mikhail Gorbachev and Francois Mitterrand.

At a recent meeting in Kiev, Gorbachev reproached German Chancellor Helmut Kohl for getting himself too much engaged on the issue of Yugoslavia's collapse. After this meeting, Germany evidently began to act differently, at least in public, employing a larger amount of diplomacy than earlier.

There is no public Soviet criticism of Germany, but foreign analysts believe that the Kremlin is in no way satisfied with Bonn's conduct. They say that Germany, too soon after reunification, clearly began to present itself as a country showing ambitions to become a great power which, via Slovenia and Croatia, seeks access to the Yugoslav Adriatic Sea. While U.S. President George Bush was in Moscow last week, the Soviets found a joint compromise with the U.S. contained in their joint statement on Yugoslavia.

Apparently the U.S. has realized that it is better for it to deal with just one great power in Europe, namely the Soviet Union, since Germany's becoming a great power would narrow down the European area for the U.S.

In all judgment, the Soviets do not even think of the possibility of an international peace-keeping force coming to Yugoslavia to broker and guarantee durable peace.

Moscow holds that the Yugoslav problem should not be internationalized. Instead, Yugoslavia's nations should be left to find solutions themselves. Nations, not leaders, are apparently insisted on because the latter have not yet embarked on the way of solving the crisis.

Gorbachev has recently told Yugoslav Prime Minister Markovic that the good services by international organizations and other states were possible only if they are requested and if they receive approval by the legal government. In a diplomatic yet unequivocal way, it was said then that the Soviet Union was discontented with the fact that a variety of envoys were wandering about Yugoslavia.

Although not mentioned specificially, a reproach is present in all this over the posture of the Yugoslav leadership which has fallen far beyond the dignity level well-deserved by Yugoslavia and its peoples, and which has even allowed the EC "troika" of ministers, so to say, to "elect" the head of the Yugoslav state.

All analyses categorically turn down the speculations that the Soviet and U.S. sides had revived "the Yalta formula." Such speculations are believed to be disseminated by those who want to blame others for the trouble they raised in Yugoslavia.

### Protocol With CSFR on Gas Deposit Development

*LD0308215491 Moscow TASS in English 1800 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[by correspondents Aleksandr Krylovich and Igor Shamshin]

[Text] A protocol to the agreement between the Governments of the USSR and Czechoslovakia of February 16, 1985 was signed in Prague today. The protocol envisages

furthering cooperation in the development of the Yamburg gas deposit, of facilities of the Urals gas complex and deliveries of natural gas to Czechoslovakia by the USSR. The document regulates a number of complex matters involved in the settlement of accounts between the two countries during a transfer to new conditions of commercial and economic ties.

The protocol say that the debt of the soviet side to Czechoslovakia for its fulfilled obligation for the construction of facilities, delivery of large-diameter pipes to the USSR, transfer of founds in freely convertible currency and supply of machinery, equipment, materials and other goods amounts to 1,007 million transferable roubles. To repay this debt and interest, the Soviet Union will supply Czechoslovakia with roughly 16,350 million cubic metres of natural gas.

### CPSU Greets Bulgarian Socialists on Centenary

*LD0408121791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1133 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[Text] Moscow, 4 Aug (TASS)—In connection with the centenary of the formation of the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, the secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPSU sent its sincere congratulations to members of the Bulgarian Socialist Party and to all public and political forces in Bulgaria which remain loyal to the best traditions and heritage of the Bulgarian and international left movement.

We wish you successful creative activity, the telegram of greetings reads, in the name of the posperity of your motherland, the establishment of democracy, humanity, and social justice, and the strengthening of traditional friendship and equal cooperaion between our two countries and peoples.

### Statement on Soviet-Bulgarian Treaty

*PM0508090691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Aug 91 Union Edition p 4*

["Statement by the Foreign Ministries of the USSR and the Republic of Bulgaria"—no date given]

[Text] Noting the profound democratic transformations in the USSR and the Republic of Bulgaria and the new realities in Europe and the world, the Foreign Ministries of the USSR and the Republic of Bulgaria declare the intention of the two sides to draw up and conclude a new interstate treaty.

They declare that there is no need automatically to extend for a further five-year period the 1967 Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, as is stipulated in Article 10 of that treaty.

Proceeding on the basis of the importance of bilateral ties and the desire to develop relations between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria on the basis of mutual trust, sovereignty and equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit, the two ministries, in order to avoid a period without a treaty in bilateral relations, will accelerate work on preparing and signing a new Soviet-Bulgarian treaty, the conclusion of which will mark the end of the validity of the present treaty.

## West Europe

### Lukyanov in Bern To Celebrate Swiss Anniversary

#### Holds News Conference

*LD0308224191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] USSR Supreme Soviet Chairman Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov, is in Bern for the celebratiuon of the 700th anniversary of the Swiss Confederation. He has held a news conference in Bern.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership and parliament Comrade Lukyanov conveyed to the Federal Assembly of the people of Switzerland friendly congratulations in connection with the national holiday.

He noted that the historical experience of the Swiss Confederation in the building of a democratic and federative state has great international significance, including for our country, too.

Comrade Lukyanov spoke of his meetings with the leaders of the parliaments of a number of European countries who are at the celebrations in Switzerland and replied to numerous questions by journalists on the situation in our country and on the results of the Soviet-U.S. summit in Moscow.

#### Meets Swiss President

*LD0408085691 Moscow TASS in English 0848 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[By correspondent Yevgeniy Kozlov]

[Text] Locarno August 4 TASS—Soviet parliament Chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov, who is currently here on the occasion of the celebration of the 700th jubilee of the Swiss Confederation, met the country's president Flavio Cotti on Saturday night.

They considered matters aimed at further developing Soviet-Swiss relations. Cotti expressed the readiness of the Swiss business community to participate in the implementaiton of a number of economic programmes being effected in the Soviet Union, in the fields of defence industry conversion and the processing of farm produce, in particular.

Lukyanov and Cotti had a detailed exchange of views on prospects for the expansion of contacts and exchanges of

experience between the parliaments of the two countries. All-European development problems were also discussed.

During meetings here with representatives of local financial circles, Lukyanov exchanged views with them about possibilities for establishing closer contacts between the banks of the USSR and Switzerland with a view to promoting larger investments in the Soviet economy by private Swiss banks.

Lukyanov leaves for home by air today.

### Returns to Moscow

*LD0408162691 Moscow TASS in English 1552 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[Text] Moscow August 4 TASS—Soviet parliament chairman Anatoliy Lukyanov today returned to Moscow from Switzerland where he attended activities to mark the 700th anniversary of the founding of the Swiss Confederation.

## Further Reportage on Lamont Visit

### Lamont Talks With Gorbachev, Yelstin

*LD0208184891 Moscow TASS in English 1840 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—Norman Lamont, chief secretary to the treasury of Great Britain, said his visit to Moscow signifies the beginning to the Soviet Union's integration into the world economic system.

Speaking today at a news conference at the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press centre, he said that as a result of meetings with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, with Soviet scientists and entrepreneurs, he received the impression that the central government and the republican governments are consistent in their striving for reform.

Lamont believes that inflation and the budgetary defecit, as well as difficulties as regards restructuring of the Soviet economy, are the most complex problems on the road to reform. Lamont said that the discussion of these problems with representatives of the Soviet Government and economists showed that the Soviet leaders are aware of the acuteness and topicality of these matters and the need for their bold and consistent resolution.

Asked about a possible role of international financial organisations in solving the mentioned problems, Lamont emphasised that expert and consultative assistance is the most effective form at present. He said that large financial infusions can hardly be effective in present conditions. He noted that the Soviet Union should be striving for consistent solution of its problems.

Regarding prospects for the development of Britain's relations with the Russian Federation, Lamont said that the areas of possible interaction include cooperation in know-how in the area of agroindustrial complex and the training of specialists.

Besides that, taking into account vast experience of privatisation in Britain, this area is also a probable area of joint effort, he said.

Lamont said that Britain views this cooperation as part of the programme to promote reform in the Soviet Union.

Lamont expressed the confidence that the economic reform in the USSR can yield effective results and do much good for the Soviet people.

### Meets Pavlov

*LD0208205791 Moscow TASS in English 1959 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov received today Norman Lamont, British chief secretary to the treasury [chancellor of the exchequer]. He is staying in the Soviet Union on a working visit in accordance with agreements reached by President Gorbachev and G-7 leaders in London.

Speaking about the purpose of his visit to Moscow, Lamont said that, in his opinion, the task is to get a clear idea, as clear as possible, on the basis of personal impressions, about the progress of Soviet reform and conditions in which it is being implemented.

Pavlov and Lamont discussed in detail ways of international cooperation in the integration of the Soviet Union into the system of world economic relations. Explanations were given to Lamont on the issues in which he showed interest.

The sides touched upon some problems of Soviet-British trade and economic relations.

The conversation was held in an open and friendly atmosphere. Meets Primakov [TASS] LD0208204991 Moscow TASS in English 1958 GMT
2 Aug 91 [Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—Yevgeny Primakov, a member of the Soviet Security Council, on Friday met British Chancellor of the Exchequer Norman Lamont to discuss economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Group of Seven.

Lamont is in the Soviet Union on an official visit.

## Western Forces Deputy on Pullout Concerns

*PM0408141391 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Aug 91 First Edition p 3*

[Report by correspondent Colonel V. Markushin citing Major General I. Podgornyy, first deputy chief of staff of the Western Group of Forces: "Do the Troops Need a Capital Permit?"]

[Text] "Bonn is disappointed" was the headline of an article in DIE WELT concerning the problem of Soviet troop withdrawal from Germany. It concerned, in particular, the fact that the FRG Defense Ministry had apparently expressed dissatisfaction in a special report about the Soviet military leadership's intractability on the question of speeding up the withdrawal of units from the capitals of the East German Laender. By the end of the current year, the newspaper writes, Soviet troops will have left only two of the five such cities and will thus have ignored Bonn's desire for the Western Group of Forces to give priority to leaving the capitals of the new federal Laender.

Major General I. Podgornyy, first deputy chief of staff of the Western Group of Forces, commented on this situation at the request of your KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent.

"Yes, the German side has indeed expressed the wish that priority be given as far as possible to vacating the capitals. And we are doing all we can to vacate Magdeburg and Erfurt this year. There remain Dresden, Schwerin, and Potsdam—cities where the withdrawal of our troops would create additional very difficult problems if we did not stick to our plan.

"Take, for example, Schwerin. The division stationed there supports the withdrawal of our troops by sea. And it is in general a key link in supporting the group of forces in the north. The withdrawal of that division is simply inadvisable in the immediate term. Or take Dresden, the city where the army command is located. How can you withdraw the command, leaving subordinate formations and units without leadership, including, incidentally, leadership of the withdrawal of those formations and units?

"The impatience of our partners is understandable. But we are keeping to schedule, which ensures that this gigantic redeployment is carried out in a systematic and smooth way. We are acting, moreover, in consideration of the vital interests of Soviet servicemen, the majority of whom simply have nowhere to live in the USSR. And it is in the divisions and army units that this majority is concentrated.

"I do not think that articles like the one carried in DIE WELT will help solve our current problems. The atmosphere surrounding the Western Group of Forces should not be clouded. If confusion arises, this can be discussed in a businesslike manner during the working meetings which have become part of our normal procedure. The next such meeting, by the way, is 21 August."

## Genscher Calls for Soviet Involvement in Europe

*LD0408224591 Moscow TASS in English 1908 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[By correspondent Lev Volnukhin]

[Text] Bonn August 4 TASS—German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher has called for developing European processes and for involving the Soviet Union and other East European countries in it.

The signing of the first treaty to reduce nuclear strategic arms was not the only result of the Moscow summit, he emphasised in a statement released here today. The outcome of the meeting makes it possible to get down to building a new world order based on partnership and to constructing a new European architecture.

Genscher said Europe should overcome national narrow-mindedness, national selfishness and nationalism. The European Community should open to enable the democratic European states willing to enter it to be brought into the group. Austria, Sweden and other states, willing to join the EC, are the same Europeans as the twelve member- states of the community. Central and east European states need a possibly closer association with the EC with the prospect for their full membership.

Genscher pointed out that the Soviet Union, which was pursuing the path of creating a federation or a confederation, also needed close partnership with Europe. Together with the sovereign republics, which are part of it, it thus becomes "an important and inalienable part of a European confederation that is being formed on the basis of the Paris Charter."

Genscher said it was necessary that European economic, technological, transport, telecommunications, energy and ecological spaces be created and the Soviet Union and its sovereign republics be included in them. In this regard, he emphasised the immense importance of the German-Soviet treaty on good neighbourliness, partnership and cooperation, which, he said, became a stabilising element for the entire Europe.

Genscher called for upgrading, within the CSCE framework, the crisis prevention mechanism, which, according to Genscher, is now at the first stage of its development. Genscher believes that forming "the CSCE blue-helmeted forces" could enhance its effectiveness. In addition, he thinks that it is important to study the question of setting up "an European security council" within the CSCE framework.

## Greek Premier Visits Black Sea Resort

*PM0208114391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 91 Second Edition p 6*

[TASS report: "End of Visit"]

[Text] Gelendzhik (Krasnodar Kray), 26 Jul—Greek Prime Minister K. Mitsotakis arrived in this Black Sea health resort from Kiev today. He held a meeting with representatives of the All-Union Society of Soviet Greeks here. It was attended by envoys of Greek communities in various republics. The meeting took place in the city square, and inhabitants of Gelendzhik, vacationers, and leaders of the city participated. "My visit to

the USSR has been very, very successful," the prime minister said. I join with USSR President Gorbachev in describing the treaty we signed in Moscow as unprecedented in the history of our countries' relations.

Soviet Greek folklore groups gave a concert in the guest's honor.

This was the final stage on Mitsotakis' trip to our country before flying home. He was invited on the official visit to the Soviet Union by the USSR president.

### Karelia To Have Special Ties With Finland

*LD0208214591 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1200 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Soviet Karelia is to have special rights for arranging its relations with Finland and other countries. According to Viktor Stepanov, chairman of the Karelian Supreme Soviet, agreement on Karelia's special rights has been concluded between the leaderships of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation. Stepanov says that Karelia will be made a free enterprise zone. According to Stepanov, Karelia's special rights are well-founded because the Russian Federation intends to create its relations with Europe through Karelia and Finland. Stepanov, speaking at the summer gathering of the Finland-Soviet Union Society in Nurmes, emphasized that Karelia is now open to Finnish entrepreneurs and tourists. Stepanov said that Finns are needed, among other things, to create tourist services, which are at present totally lacking in Karelia.

### Protocol on EC Technical Assistance

*LD0308214591 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1737 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[By correspondent Sergey Simonenko]

[Text] Brussels, 2 Aug—A protocol and program of technical assistance for the reforms in the Soviet Union were signed in the Belgian capital today by Lev Voronin, USSR permanent representative at the EC, and Frans Andriessen, vice chairman of the EC Commission. It is agreed that the technical assistance will be extended in the following five areas: energy, transport, food distribution, financial services, and training of cadres. A sum of 400 million ecus (European currency units) is being allocated from the EC's budget in 1991 for this purpose.

## Latin America & Caribbean

### Foreign Ministry on Relations With Cuba

*OW0508045391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 2 Aug 91*

["Diplomatic Panorama" Article: "USSR-Cuba: Military Cooperation Grows Less, But in Economic Sphere the Both countries Are "Doomed" To Cooperation"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "The military cooperation lessens in Soviet Cuban relations," the Chairman of the Information Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry Vitaliy Churkin said answering one of the "damned" questions which was often asked on the eve and in the course of the Soviet-American summit. According to the diplomat, "though much more was said about that problem in public than in private talks", "and there is nothing new on that problem", he explained that the USSR continues its close relations with Cuba in spite of the objections expressed by the American side in the Moscow summit. As far as military cooperation is concerned it lessens and it will depend on the relations of other countries with Cuba.

V. Churkin also said that we would welcome U.S. steps towards arranging dialogue with Havana. Here in Moscow we are satisfied that such exchange of opinions is conducted from time to time. "We also exchange our opinions with Cuban representatives on these numerous problems, "concluded the Chairman of the Information Department of the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

Even before the summit there were similar discussions, especially after the visit of the recently appointed Deputy Foreign minister of the USSR Valeriy Nikokaenko to the USA and Cuba, V. Churkin objected to the allegation that the USSR could act as a mediator between the USA and Cuba. "Nobody asked for us to do it," argued the diplomat.

#### In Spite of Stoppages the Cooperation Goes On

In the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, [MFEC] where our coorespondent asked for some additional information, they said that the USSR and Cuba were "doomed" to cooperate in the field of economics. It was determined as early as in 1972 when Cuba entered the non-existing now CMEA [Council of Mutual Economic Cooperation]. The USSR and the other countries which entered that organization in those years began to make their economic programs taking into consideration supplies of Cuban sugar.

According to the information received in the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Economic Cooperation, at the present moment a third part of the sugar consumed in the USSR is processed from the raw-sugar imported from Cuba. The annual shortage of sugar in the USSR is about 4-5 million tons. And it is difficult to get such a quantity of sugar simultaneously on the world market. Under these conditions "the attachment" to the Cuban supply becomes necessary.

According to this year's contract Cuba has already supplied to the USSR 1.8 million tons of sugar that is more than a half of the planned quantity, as they also said in the Soviet MFEC. In general in spite all the efforts of the Cuban side there are shortages in carrying out the agreement. As they said in the Soviet MFEC there were two reasons for that; the first one is that the USSR failed to supply Cuba with the goods of the most importance for it. The value of the Cuban supplies to the USSR

exceeds the value of Soviet exports (oil is the most part of it) to the country so far, and the second one the USSR has much difficulties in transporting the cargo by sea.

There are some difficulties because of the countries transfer to world prices in their trade. That could not but influence the volumes of value. As far as the decision on the hard currency accounts in trade since January 1 is concerned it influenced less the mutual trade than was expected because the USSR and Cuba are active in using clearing and barter trying to compensate mutual currency deficit in this way. Besides Cuba arranges cooperation both with the Soviet republics and with some enterprices which are authorized to have foreign economic relations.

### No Grounds for 'Revising' Cuban Relations

*LD0208134791 Moscow TASS in English 1332 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[By correspondent Vladimir Isachenkov]

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov told a news conference here today that he sees no grounds for revising "relations of friendship and cooperation" between the USSR and Cuba.

"Cuba has been and will remain our friend and full-fledged partner," Pavlov pointed out.

Asked by a Cuban journalist during a news conference with visiting Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic whether Soviet-Cuban ties will be curtailed as a result of the Moscow summit, the Soviet premier stated that "no one has the right to interfere in our bilateral relations, the more so in the economic field."

The opinion that trade between Cuba and the USSR is inequitable and unprofitable for the USSR is "a great illusion", a consequence of the distorted economic mechanism, Pavlov remarked.

"Our cooperation, which had serious disruptions this year, should be mended and restored and should continue to develop," Pavlov said.

### Pavlov Rebuffs U.S. Call To End Cuba Aid

*AU0208134591 Paris AFP in English 1313 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Moscow, Aug 2 (AFP) - Soviet Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov said Friday that Moscow intended to maintain close ties with Cuba and criticized Washington for trying to "dictate" the course of Soviet-Cuban ties.

"I can tell you in no uncertain terms that we see no reason to review our relations... with any state and particularly with a state that is a long-term friend of ours," Pavlov said.

Speaking at a joint news conference with Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic, Pavlov stated that no country should try to "interfere" with the Soviet-Cuban relationship and said it was an "illusion" that Washington could influence the course of those ties. "No one has the right to dictate its policy to a sovereign country," Pavlov said.

His remarks came three days after U.S. President George Bush told a group of Soviet foreign policy experts that Moscow's continued military and economic assistance to Cuba was an "obstacle" that could impede Western help for the Soviet Union's economic recovery. Bush said that Cuban leader Fidel Castro was "isolated" and "does not share your faith in glasnost and perestroika. The United States poses no threat to Cuba," Bush said. "Therefore there is no need for the Soviet Union to funnel millions of dollars in military aid to Cuba."

### Parliamentary Delegation Ends Cuban Visit

*PM0208134691 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 91 Union Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the "Interparliamentary Links" rubric]

[Text] Havana, 29 July—Gennadiy Kiselev, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and leader of the Soviet parliamentary delegation which concluded a visit to Cuba on Sunday, described the results of the delegation's visit as positive.

The head of the Soviet delegation noted that during meetings in the republic's parliament and Foreign Ministry discussions were held on the changes under way in our countries and the activity of and mutual cooperation between the USSR and Cuba in the international arena.

During its stay, the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation visited a hospital where Soviet Afghan veterans are undergoing a course of treatment, and a pioneer city named for Jose Marti, where children suffering as a result of the accident on the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station are resting and receiving medical aid.

### Doctors' 'Plot,' Dissent in Cuba Viewed

*91UF1010A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 Jul 91 Union Edition p 4*

[Report by TASS correspondent S. Kutikov specially for IZVESTIYA: "Cuba: Doctors' Plot"]

[Text] Havana—Rumors concerning various attempts on the life of Cuban leader Fidel Castro have been appearing with surprising persistence of late. Cubans are exchanging stories about how in one instance the commandante's life was saved by a guard who shielded the former's body with his own, in another, how shots were fired at his car. Usually the journalists accredited here do not take such rumors seriously, and verifying them is impossible. But there were recently in the dock at a public trial in the Havana Provincial Court actual defendants.

They were two doctors, both highly qualified specialists, well known both on Cuba and overseas. As had been ascertained in the course of the investigation, last September 42-year-old Julio Senon Saap and 35-year-old Julian Francisco Arana were preparing an attempt on the life of Fidel Castro, who was to have visited the Neurology and Neurosurgery Institute. The idea of assassination originated, allegedly, with J. Saap, who proposed to his colleague that they kill the 64-year-old supreme commander and thereby "save the country." The conspirators decided to use dynamite or a rifle with telescopic sights. But, as transpired at the sitting of the court, they were unable to get their hands on either explosives or firearms and decided in this connection to "postpone" the implementation of the plan and switch to "active counterrevolutionary propaganda." J. Saap was sentenced to 12 years imprisonment, J. Arana, to eight.

J. Arana, a member of the Communist Party of Cuba, maintained in court that he could in fact never "have taken part in carrying out the plot" and that he was "deeply repentant of his behavior." A group of Canadian doctors, with whom he had worked during a stint of scientific practice in Canada, spoke in support of him. The Canadians' letter said that Arana "is incapable of engaging in an act of terrorism" and contained a request that the Canadian Embassy in Havana "follow" the trial.

Both doctors have been in prison since last October. Cuba's state security authorities had, it turned out, been informed about the assassination attempt which was being prepared virtually from the very outset, monitoring the conspirators' actions and collecting information on possible other participants in the criminal action. Teresa Delgado, who presided at the trial, informed the TASS correspondent that the investigation had "not turned up involvement in this conspiracy of the U.S. CIA or other intelligence services of countries hostile toward the government of Cuba."

Many observers are noting in connection with the concluded sitting of the court the active process of fermentation, which has intensified of late, among the Cuban intelligentsia, part of which is openly expressing its disagreement with the political line of the Communist Party and government of the country. Quite recently a group of writers, guided by ideas of the "salvation of the country," signed an appeal which speaks of the need for national dialogue which could help find a way out of the difficult period which the country is experiencing, the organization of direct democratic parliamentary elections and the release of "prisoners of conscience."

A by no means straightforward situation is taking shape among the students also, some of whom are advocating reforms like those being implemented in the East European countries and the USSR.

At the same time a new motion picture of local director Daniel Diaz Torres—"Alice in Wonderland," which sharply criticizes various aspects of the life of contemporary Cuban society—has in fact been withdrawn from distribution to Havana movie theaters. The newspapers have described this movie, which shows in sarcastic form the problems of bureaucratism, "dual morality" and social sluggishness, as a work "injurious to national culture."

As distinct from the doctors who had allegedly prepared "a bomb for the chairman," the dissident intelligentsia prefers calls for reforms taking account of all interests and all viewpoints on the future of the country and its place in the modern world. Nonetheless, it has to be stated that all the attempts of this part of the intelligentsia to move with their own proposals beyond the framework allotted the debate which is under way in Cuba's workforce prior to the congress of the Communist Party to be held this October are culminating at best so far in rebukes in the official newspapers and journals.

The viewpoint of the leadership of the party and government is as yet unequivocal: They maintain that only by preserving the unity of the people is it possible to overcome the difficult situation in which the country has found itself. In the opinion of the authorities, the activity of a certain part of the critically disposed intelligentsia can only sow doubt and harm national interests. But this activity continues, and it is difficult to determine as yet what the delayed-action bomb is—the dissidents themselves or the policy of the authorities in respect of them.

## Ibero-American Conference Results Assessed

*91UF1020A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*25 Jul 91 Second Edition p 4*

[Article by Pavel Bogomolov: "Between North and South"]

[Text] *"A historical first"—this formula, solemn, but perfectly justified in this case, is applicable to the international forum held recently in the picturesque Mexican city of Guadalajara.*

The top leaders of two dozen states of Latin America and both countries of the Iberian Peninsula—Spain and Portugal—and also of the United Nations, the OAS, UNESCO and other authoritative international organizations met there. This was thus the first Ibero-American summit, which attracted unfeigned interest worldwide. With us, the Soviet Union, included, and it was with good reason that a message from the president of the USSR was addressed to the organizers of the forum. What was the reason for the so widespread echo of Guadalajara?

For a number of years political, economic, and spiritual ties between Latin America and the Pyrenees, which are separated by an ocean, have at times been undervalued, receding to the background of big politics, as it were. Yet Latin Americans acquired their language, religion, a considerable part of their cultural heritage, and appreciable elements of their political system from Spain and Portugal. Forgetting this is the same as failing to

remember that Chad was a French colony, and Singapore, say, a possession of the British Crown. "Take away Ibero-America from Spain, and it would be a crippled country," F. Fernandez-Ordonez, head of Madrid's diplomacy, believes, not without reason.

In other words, if we take seriously such realities of world politics as the British Commonwealth or the French community, we evidently cannot ignore the Ibero-American dialogue, which is becoming more dynamic and which was institutionalized in Guadalajara. The discussion of Latin American problems within the framework of the Soviet-Spanish consultations, which began comparatively recently, confirms, incidentally, that Moscow now regards the most complex set of Ibero-American problems as something organic and interconnected.

Guadalajara revealed not only the spiritual affinity of the Ibero-American countries. The summary document of the meeting expressed their readiness for joint practical actions in the interests of all-embracing regional integration, the establishment of a just and lasting peace in Central America, the universal defense of human rights, a solution of ecological problems and more successful struggle against the narcotics trade.

The main idea of the "Guadalajara Declaration" amounts to proper advantage being taken of the present collapse of the "bipolar ideological system" in the modern world. It is essential to do everything possible to ensure that yesterday's East-West confrontation not be replaced by a new global division—"between a North possessing capital and technology and a South poor and without prospects." And it is gratifying that today Spain is even prepared to run across its territory an invisible, but firm bridge for extensive and, what is more, equal communication between Europe and Latin America. A North-South bridge of which all mankind is much in need.

The unity of views demonstrated on this fundamental problem in Guadalajara by no means signifies an aspiration to standardize the policy of the Ibero-American countries in all things, deprive each of them of its specific features and ultimately subordinate them to some "supranational" bodies. On the contrary, there was a fitting place also in the community of Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking states which is currently taking shape for conservative, liberal- center and socialist models of development, meaning primarily the Republic of Cuba. The panorama of Latin America "would be incomplete without Cuba"—such, for example, is the quintessence of the Argentine position confirmed in Guadalajara.

A notable feature of the forum in this connection was the active participation of Fidel Castro. It is no secret that pressure was brought to bear on certain Latin American states on the eve of the meeting for the purpose of turning the Ibero-American dialogue into a platform for attacks on the "Havana regime" and public condemnation of the Cuban leadership for its refusal to capitulate in the face of the demand that it change the social system established in the republic following the victory of the 1959 revolution.

The moment for sharp criticism of the intractable Cubans was most propitious, seemingly, for the socioeconomic situation on the island has deteriorated considerably in connection with the termination of CEMA activity. But to the credit of the Latin America leaders, the calls coming from the North for increased hostility in respect to Cuba went practically unanswered. Adopting a far more sober and constructive position, the participants in the forum agreed, on the whole, with the opinion of the Venezuelan Government to the effect that the Cubans "should not be driven into a corner but integrated into the bosom of Latin America, which is ready to receive them."

There is a strengthening understanding in the Ibero-American community of the immutable truth that any attempt at a forcible breakup of the existing orders on Cuba would be fraught with unpredictable consequences and would for this reason be reckless ab initio. What is needed is something else: the creation in close interaction with the Cubans themselves of conditions conducive to the extrication of the republic from the present crisis. It is by no means mandatory, incidentally, that this process begin with dramatic changes within Cuba, the more so in that this is this country's purely internal affair. But modernizing and wresting from the mortal vise of the "cold war" the entire set of its relations with its neighbors—this is a common task, as they say. And promising, what is more, for its solution could go a long way toward alleviating the difficulties being experienced by the republic and provide new, additional reference points on the difficult path toward the renewal of Cuban society.

How, though, is Cuba reacting to the calls of its neighbors for it to avail itself of this opportunity? Positively, on the whole, although guardedly also and critically even at times, which was manifested in Guadalajara also. This evidently also reflects Havana's traditional adherence to the principle of a class approach and at the same time its insufficient readiness for reevaluating the views on certain governments of Latin America states as... direct accomplices of the most reactionary circles of the United States, which have been held there since the 1960's.

But whereas 30 years ago such evaluations were largely justified, now the continent has changed and is far more independent, politically, at least. "New conditions, which differ from those of the 1960's," have taken shape, in the opinion of OAS General Secretary J. Bazna Soares. In a word, there is still considerable potential on the paths of Cuba's more dynamic involvement in the regional process, and Havana, by all accounts, does not intend to renounce it. In any event, the decisions promulgated in Guadalajara to move toward the full-scale

restoration of relations between Cuba and such important countries of the continent as Colombia and Chile buttress this hope for better things.

And I would like as a whole to hope that the dialogue in Guadalajara portends the onset of a qualitatively new stage in regional politics. A stage in whose channel general suspicion continually growing into animosity is replaced by the genuine accord and unity of action of the Ibero-American countries in the confrontation not with contrived but real threats of economic stagnation and social unrest, spiritual decline and ecological catastrophes.

### CPSU Delegation Greets Paraguay Party Congress

*PM3107102791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Jul 91 Second Edition p 5*

To the Fourth Congress of the Paraguayan Communist Party

We warmly greet the delegates of the Fourth Congress of the Paraguayan Communist Party [PCP], which since its foundation has traveled a difficult path of struggle through years of underground existence and persecution.

We are convinced that the friendly relations which exist between the CPSU and the PCP will continue to develop in the interests of our peoples and the cause of democracy and social progress. We wish the congress success.

CPSU Central Committee Secretariat

### Delegation Departs 28 Jul

*PM0208132191 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Jul 91 Union Edition p 4*

[TASS report under the "Interparliamentary Links" rubric]

[Text] Asuncion, 28 July—Today saw the close of an official visit to Paraguay by the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by Soviet of Nationalities Deputy Chairman Boris Oleynik, which was in Asuncion at the invitation of this country's Congress (parliament).

During the visit, meetings were held between members of the Soviet parliamentary delegation and representatives of the Congress Chamber of Deputies and Senate, government members, and eminent trade union leaders and Paraguayan industrialists. At the meetings special emphasis was put on the two country's efforts to normalize and develop all-around relations between the USSR and Paraguay, which, in the opinion of both sides, should be consolidated via the establishment of consular or diplomatic relations. A joint communique on the results of the visit was adopted.

### Delegation Arrives in Argentina

*LD3007171991 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0832 GMT 30 Jul 91*

[By correspondent Aleksandr Nyrkov]

[Text] Buenos Aires, 30 Jul (TASS)—Carlos Menem, president of Argentina, received on Monday the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation led by Boris Oleynik, deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet, currently on an official visit here.

During a frank and friendly conversation, the head of the Argentine Government gave a high appraisal of the Soviet Union's peace-loving policy, as well as of the foreign political activity of the USSR and the U.S. presidents, which is aimed at strengthening peace and security on the planet. C. Menem expressed his satisfaction that a treaty on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons, historic in its significance, would be signed during the summit which is taking place in Moscow. It will become yet another landmark on the way toward strengthening detente and universal peace.

The course of perestroyka in the Soviet Union is being watched in Argentina with great interest, the president pointed out. The government of Argentina expresses full support of the internal policy of the Soviet leadership, which is aimed at strengthening democracy and openness in the society, he stressed. Expressing his interest in the development of many-sided relations with the USSR, C. Menem confirmed the previously-made proposal to President M.S. Gorbachev to come to Argentina on an official visit. Boris Oleynik, head of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, passed on a personal message from USSR President M.S. Gorbachev to C. Menem.

On the same day, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation were received by Eduardo Menem, acting chairman of the Senate of the Argentine National Congress. Soviet MP's passed on an invitation from the USSR Supreme Soviet to the Argentine National Congress to send a delegation on an official visit to the Soviet Union, at a mutually convenient time.

### Delegation Returns From Nicaragua, Mexico

*PM3107132791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Jul 91 Second Edition p 4*

[Unattributed report; "Delegation's Return"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by P.K. Luchinskiy, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which had gone to the first congress of Nicaragua's Sandinista National Liberation Front, returned to Moscow 23 July.

The delegation also visited Mexico, where it had meetings with the leadership of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary party ans also of the Democratic Revolutionary Party and the Popular Socialist Party.

## Foreign Ministry Reacts to Guatemala Talks

*LD3007210191 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1250 GMT 30 Jul 91*

[By unidentified diplomatic correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 30 Jul (TASS)—The USSR Foreign Ministry has given a positive appraisal to the third round of talks between the government and the rebels in Guatemala, which ended the other day in Mexico City.

The signing at the meeting of the "Queretaro agreement", which defines the main directions for the democratization of the country and the sides' obligations, indicates that the participants in the dialogue secured a mutual understanding on a fundamentally important point of the general agenda for the peace talks, a TASS correspondent has been told by a high-ranking Soviet diplomat. The document includes, specifically, such provisions as the supremacy of the law, the priority of a civilian form of government, the impermissibility of political repression, respect for human rights, and the subordination of military institutions to the civilian authorities.

The optimism of the Soviet foreign policy department is generated by the view, expressed by the sides, that the agreement reached at the meeting must be a serious contribution toward the efforts to bring about a final settlement of the crisis situation in Guatemala. This has been assisted to no small extent both by the flexible and responsible line to which the leadership of the rebels has adhered in these matters, and by the well-considered position of the Guatemalan Government.

The hope is expressed in the USSR, the diplomat stressed, that the sides involved in the conflict will continue to use the possibilities that they have in the interests of rapidly reaching a mutually acceptable agreements opening up the way toward the cessation of the armed confrontation and the attainment of a nationwide truce.

## Political & Social

### Gorbachev Gives Treaty Speech, Issues Goods Decree

#### Statement on Union Treaty

*LD0208193491 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Statement by President M.S. Gorbachev on 2 August; place not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—live or recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Comrades! My speech today to you is devoted to an important event in the life of the country. As you know, intense work has recently been carried out on the draft of the new Union treaty.

Today I sent a letter to the leaders of delegations authorized by the supreme soviets of the republics, in which I proposed that the treaty be opened for signing on 20 August this year. The letter has also been sent to the republics that still have to decide their position.

It is envisaged that delegations from the Russian Federation, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan will be the first to sign the treaty, then after certain intervals representatives of the other republics which took part in the working out and agreement on the draft. Such a procedure will allow the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet to complete its examination of the draft treaty. During this time a referendum will take place in Armenia and Moldova will adopt a decision on its attitude toward the Union treaty. The peoples of Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia will also be able to determine their position on this vital question.

And so we are entering the decisive stage of the transformation of our multinational state into a democratic federation of Soviet sovereign republics enjoying equal rights. What does the conclusion of the new Union Treaty mean for the life of the country? In the first place this is the realization of the will of the people which they expressed on 17 March this year in the all-Union referendum. The treaty presupposes the transformation of the Union on the basis of continuity and renewal. Union statehood is preserved in which the labor of many generations of people from all the peoples of our fatherland is embodied. Alongside this a new, genuinely voluntary union [obyedineniye] of sovereign states is created, in which all the peoples administer their affairs independently and freely develop their culture, language, and traditions. It is namely in this that the sense of the reform of our statehood lies. On the one hand the independence of the republics is reliably guaranteed, on the other there is a just as reliable guarantee of the solution of the common tasks which they, the republics, voluntarily delegate to Union bodies and place under the jurisdiction of the Union.

It was necessary to work intensively on these issues, with great responsibility. Here much work was invested in all this business by the republican supreme soviets, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the government, and public and scientific organizations. The numerous appeals and proposals from the country's citizens did not go unheeded.

A judicious balance of interests has been found in the new Union treaty, a balance that is capable of ensuring normal conditions for the life and work of people in our renewed federation. Recently we have had the experience—I would say the bitter experience—of a war of laws and a lack of coordination in the actions of the authorities at various levels. All this was having and had an extremely negative effect on all spheres of society's life, on the pace of transformation, on the whole policy of perestroyka. I am convinced that with the conclusion of the treaty the main reasons which led to such an abnormal situation will be eliminated. Everyoue should clearly know the sphere of his activities, fulfill the duties laid on him and be responsible to the people for what has been entrusted to him. This will allow legality and law and order in the country to be strengthened. The republics, in the common interest, vest in Union bodies such important functions as the provision of defense and state security.

With these aims the united armed forces and the integrity of the system of state security organs are preserved. Coordination of the law-enforcement organs which will make it possible to protect citizens' rights and to fight crime is being ensured. Decision-making for many important issues will lie within the joint sphere of competence of the Union and the republics. The treaty itself contains stipulations on the basis of which the mechanisms of negotiating agreement and interaction will be operating.

The treaty's coming into force also means big changes in the conditions of our economic development. It is very important that distribution of powers between the Union and the republics established by the treaty envisages preservation and development, an all-round development of the full-blooded all-Union market with the single currency, financial and credit systems, customs regulations and the principles of social protection jointly agreed upon. Wide opportunities are being opened to the enterprises to exploit those new advantages at their disposal which are being offered to them by the economic reform.

It is hard to imagine how it will be possible to achieve the economic independence without such a market, when the main subjects of the market—enterprises and working collectives—are limited in their opportunities. It will enable us to preserve the old ties. This is very important because at the moment it affects the working collectives negatively. But at the same time this will enable us to establish many new ties, which are already being dictated by the present situation.

Within the framework of a common economic space there will be wide room for interaction between the republics and the regions. We now know what this breaking up of the economic ties means and what the

barriers on the borders between republics and certain regions mean too. By the way, this illness has not yet been cured, it is still there. This is why we need a common, full-blooded market. It is necessary for all the peoples, all the republics, and all the enterprises.

The conclusion of the new Union treaty also brings a substantial—I would even say a major—new element to our international activities. The treaty confirms that the renewed federation is the successor in law to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. The Soviet Union will continue in the future to act as a world power, a great world power. It retains in full measure the position it has won for itself in the international arena, but it also retains its obligations to other states. This is a matter of fundamental significance, indeed, not only for ourselves and for our country, but for the whole world community which very highly estimates the contribution that our great country is making to the development of new international relations and to their transition to the path of healthy development.

However, within the framework of a common foreign policy the possibilities and the role of our republics acquire a new meaning. The treaty confirms their right to sustain diplomatic, consular, cultural and other links, as well as trade relations, with foreign states. Thereby new possibilities, so to speak, are being opened for assimilating world experience and for the country's integration into the world economy.

In short, the treaty lays foundations for deep changes for the better in all spheres of public and state life. One can expect that its positive impact will start to show in the near future. Of course, the matter should not be oversimplified. The treaty presupposes significant restructuring of bodies of power and administration. A new constitution will have to be drawn up and adopted, electoral law will have to be revised, elections held, and the judicial system restructured.

While this process develops, the Congress of People's Deputies, the USSR Supreme Soviet, the government, and other Union bodies should operate actively.

Thus, the stage of the transformation of our Union that we are entering promises significant gains. But it also demands from all of us particular responsibility and organization. Nothing will happen automatically here. Perhaps the most profound changes in the entire history which our state is living through are taking place. Here a great deal will depend upon mutual understanding and interaction in society. It is always difficult to go over from a system to which one is accustomed to another new one. Accord is necessary between the Union and the republics, between political parties and political movements, between all who cherish our fatherland.

Now that we already have the treaty—and it will soon be signed by the republics—confrontation and quite unjustified political intolerance must be excluded from our state practice. Yet all that is taking place. It brings instability into our society and deprives it of the possibility of acting in a unified way in the present difficult, crisis conditions.

We have embarked on the path of reforms. The people and the country need the reforms. The new Union treaty will help the crisis to be overcome more quickly and life to be brought back to normal. That, as I understand it—and I think that you will all agree with me—is the most important thing now.

## Decree on Boosting Goods Production

*PM0408182791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 91 Union Edition p 1*

[USSR presidential decree dated 3 August: "On Urgent Measures to Increase Production of Goods and Services for the Population"]

[Text] The Kremlin, Moscow—For the purposes of increasing production of consumer goods and the rendering of services to the population in accordance with the joint action program of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the governments of sovereign republics for extricating the country's economy from the crisis under the conditions of the transition to the market, I resolve:

1. Republic governments and USSR ministries and departments are to take urgent measures to arrange the stable working of enterprises producing food, medicines, light industrial products, and cultural-domestic and household goods, including construction materials, and rendering services to the population. The priority allocation of material resources to the said enterprises, increased incentives for economic activity, and enhanced responsibility for growth in production of goods in mass demand are to be ensured.

2. It is to be laid down that enterprises and organizations, when concluding and fulfilling economic contracts during 1991-1992, ensure the delivery of raw materials, semimanufactures, and subassemblies for the production of consumer goods and the rendering of services to the population as a priority and in full, regardless of the fulfillment of pledges in respect of deliveries of material resources for the production of technical industrial output.

3. The Union-Republic Currency Committee, the USSR Ministry of Economics and Forecasting, and the USSR Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations jointly with the USSR Bank for Foreign Economic Activity are to ensure the priority channeling of the current year's currency receipts, including credits granted, to the purchase of and payment for deliveries of imported grain and medicines, as well as raw materials, semimanufactures, and subassemblies needed for the production of goods for the population. Enterprises and organizations conducting foreign economic activity are to be recommended to increase the channeling of their own currency funds into purchasing the said goods.

4. The Union Republic Currency Committee is to ensure conditions within a week for the practical application of the arrangements for establishing quotas and licenses in foreign economic relations envisaged in the joint action program of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the governments of sovereign republics.

The republics' governments are to be recommended to use barter operations in 1991 for the purpose of increasing deliveries to the country of raw materials, semimanufactures, and subassemblies for the production of food and essential nonfood goods, as well as deliveries of finished goods in mass demand.

5. Before 1 August [date as published] 1991 the USSR Cabinet of Ministers is to make changes to the sizes of export and import tax rates and customs duty rates with a view to creating preferential terms for importing consumer goods, food, medical supplies, and equipment for their production and introducing restrictions on the importation of luxury items and other goods not geared to mass demand.

6. It is to be laid down that enterprises and organizations ensuring an increase in deliveries of raw materials, semimanufactures, subassemblies, and equipment for the manufacture of consumer goods may, as of 1 July 1991, increase the base size of funds channeled into consumption in accordance with the procedure defined by the USSR Cabinet of Ministers.

7. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the republic governments are to prepare within a month and submit for examination to the Federation Council agreed proposals on the procedure for organizing control over the progress in fulfilling interrepublic deliveries and deliveries for state needs in terms of food, finished goods in mass demand, raw materials, semimanufactures, and subassemblies for their production, as well as on measures governing the sides' mutual economic liability for the untimely or incomplete fulfillment of concluded contracts.

8. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers and also republic governments jointly with USSR ministries and departments are to take measures without delay to ensure the accelerated commissioning of projects associated with production of consumer goods and services for the population and the enhanced efficiency of the utilization of purchased imported equipment earmarked for their production. To these ends:

An examination is to be made of the state of affairs concerning the commissioning of projects for the production of foodstuffs, nonfood consumer goods, raw materials, and semimanufactures for their production and of consumer service and state trade projects being constructed on the basis of complete imported equipment purchased in a centralized manner, in order to ensure the acceleration of this work. In the absence of guarantees for the envisaged commissioning of the said projects, equipment is to be sold at auctions and commodity exchanges in return for the buyers' pledges to install and commission it without delay;

mothballed production and trade projects whose construction is incomplete and which are being erected with centralized funds are to be sold off in accordance with the procedure laid down by existing legislation at auctions and commodity exchanges to Soviet and foreign corporate bodies and citizens in return for pledges to accelerate their commissioning;

comprehensive specialized mobile subdivisions are to be organized, as of July 1991 [date as published], on the basis of organizations of the construction, machine-building, and defense complexes for the accelerated completion of construction, debugging of equipment, and startup of production at enterprises producing foodstuffs, nonfood consumer goods, construction materials, and equipment for their production.

If commissioning of the said capacities ahead of the times envisaged in the contract is ensured, output produced before the end of this year with newly commissioned capacities remains in the region and is used according to the procedure laid down by agreement between the parties to the construction and the local soviets of people's deputies.

9. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the republic governments are to promote, in every possible way, the development of efficient forms of organizing consumer goods production and actively implement the policy of reducing state control, demonopolization, and developing enterprise in this sphere. The formation of the market infrastructure is to be accelerated, devoting special attention to the development of the marketing [tovaroprovodyashchiy] network, including trade houses, commodity exchanges, fairs, and auctions.

10. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers jointly with the republic governments is to accelerate the elaboration and in the fourth quarter submit a program of measures to provide light industry with home-produced types of raw materials and semimanufactures.

11. The USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the republic governments are to adopt the decisions necessary to fulfill this decree and to establish control over their realization.

12. This decree comes into force the moment it is published.

USSR President M. Gorbachev.

## Gorbachev, Cabinet Discuss Food, Fuel, Finance

*CM0508100591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian*
*5 Aug 1991 Second Edition p 2*

["Session in the Kremlin"—TASS Report]

[Text] Moscow August 3—An expanded session of the Presidium of the Soviet Cabinet of Ministers was held in the Kremlin today. It was chaired by President Gorbachev and attended by heads of government of the sovereign republics (with the exception of Lithuania). The session discussed key problems affecting the interests of the countries entire population and the national economy.

Special attention was devoted to food supply. It was pointed out that, despite serious difficulties facing the agricultural production, there exist conditions for ensuring a steady food supply for the population. In order to take advantage of those conditions, it was deemed expedient to prepare a special presidential decree, aimed at enhancing economic incentives in the work of the agro-industrial complex, improving its material and technical supply and the marketability [tovarnost] of the agricultural sector. It was pointed out that in the current situation resolute measures should be taken on all levels—in the centre, in republics and provinces—to draw additional manpower and resources into the harvesting campaign.

The session analysed the situation in the fuel and energy complex, the preparation of the national economy for the coming winter and the supply of the population with fuel, especially in rural areas. The activity of the leaders of a number of sectors of the fuel and energy complex was sharply criticized. Many of them are continuing to work in the old way, demanding the allocation of ever new resources without guaranteeing a proper return. Speakers pointed to the importance of restructuring economic relations and reorganising the management structures of the fuel and energy complex in line with the task of the transition to a market-based system. Agreement was reached that the union government jointly with republican governments would prepare before next September a programme of measures to resolve those problems. At the same time, the task was set to work out a long-term strategy of the development of the fuel and energy complex of the country.

The presidium discussed the state of finances and money circulation, as well as the implementation of the programme of joint actions of the centre and the republics, aimed at their stabilisation. It was pointed out that the situation called for energetic joint actions of the Union and the republics. Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov and heads of republican governments were assigned to work out within ten days a package of urgent measures for stabilising the situation in the sphere of finances and money circulation. They are to be discussed at the next session of the Federation Council.

On the basis of the results of the discussion of all those issues at the session of the Presidium, it was deemed expedient to work out an economic agreement between the Union and the sovereign republics for 1992. A common opinion was expressed that it was necessary to improve the coordination of actions in tackling vital socio-economic problems.

## Gorbachev Begins Crimean Vacation 4 Aug

*LD0508093791 Moscow TASS in English 0922 GMT 5 Aug 91*

[Text] Moscow August 5 TASS—It has been officially announced here today that on August 4, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev left for the Crimea for vacation.

## Divergent Gorbachev, Pavlov Policies Viewed

*LD0508042591 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2050 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[(Aleksandr Zelenkov) commentary—read by (Zelenkov)]

[Text] President Mikhail Gorbachev today signed a decree on urgent measures for increasing the production of goods and services for the population. My colleague, (Aleksandr Zelenkov), comments on the document:

[(Zelenkov)] Mikhail Gorbachev's decree contains a package of measures aimed at boosting the production of goods for the people, including food. The catastrophic state of the consumer market is obvious to everyone, and the appearance of such a decree is quite logical. True, a question remains whether the decree will be efficient. The thing is that the document places responsibility for its implementation on the USSR Cabinet of Ministers. At the same time, a whole range of measures mapped out in the decree directly contradicts the policy adhered to by the very same Cabinet of Ministers. For example, Gorbachev's decree again permits barter deals to increase deliveries of raw materials and components for food and consumer goods production into the country. However, as recently as a few months ago, Pavlov's cabinet banned barter deals. Gorbachev's decree demands that customs duty rates and import and export taxes should be revised with a view to create favorable conditions for importing consumer goods. However, only this summer the USSR Cabinet of Ministers raised customs duties on importing precisely such goods. One gets the impression that the USSR president is becoming increasingly annoyed with Prime Minister Pavlov's notorious policy. Perhaps, it is no accident that not Pavlov but Shcherbakov, his deputy, accompanied Gorbachev to London for the G-7 meeting. Let us also recall that Yagodin, chairman of the State Committee for National Education, who was sacked by Pavlov, has been restored to his post on Gorbachev's personal instruction. Now, there is this decree abolishing Pavlov's recent decision. On the other hand, everybody remembers very well the prime minister's attempt at obtaining from the Supreme Soviet drastically extended powers at the expense of the president's powers and behind his back. What is next? We live in a strange state, indeed. The president conducts one kind of policy, while the prime minister adheres to a different, sometimes directly opposite one. Then we all are suprised by the fact that coupons have become more expensive than money and that the shops have nothing to offer but lines.

**Yakovlev Explains Reasons for Resignation**

*LD0208130191 Moscow TASS in English 1245 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—"In the first stages I did believe that societal improvement and party reform was possible," Aleksandr Yakovlev, one of the founders of the Movement for Democratic Reforms, told TASS today.

"I soon lost this faith. At the 28th party congress I said that unless we become younger and renew ourselves, we will be left on the sidelines," Yakovlev said.

"Unfortunately, subsequent party plenums have shown that the effort was largely unsuccessful and it is now too late," he said.

Once praised as perestroyka's architect, Aleksandr Yakovlev, who had served in the ruling politburo and until recently was President Gorbachev's senior adviser, is now blasted as "the architect of ruins", degenerate and "turncoat".

"If the draft programme which is now being discussed had been submitted to the 19th party conference, the people would have said: look, it is possible to do business with communists. The programme is both visionary and repenting. But the people have lost faith," Yakovlev said.

Decisions taken by the 28th congress were not bad after all, they were market-oriented. No one believes in a programme any more. Any paper will be supported—in order to retain the power, he said.

The idea to set up the Movement for Democratic Reforms was prompted by increasing revanchism and worsening economic conditions.

"I am increasingly convinced that our tragedy results from Marxist dogmas. Stalin implemented in a freaky manner what was inherent to Marxism," he said.

"I have read a lot about Marx's and Engels's derisive attitude to peasants. They wrote so much about class struggle and violence. Imagine—total harmony can only be achieved through a class struggle. First one class eliminates another and then there is total harmony. Revolutionary maximalism, the dictatorship of the proletariat based on violence—these are horrible things," he said.

"This is how I began to reject Marxism as a guide to action, and realised socialism's defeat," he said.

The idea to set up the Movement for Democratic Reforms occured long before the 28th party congress, Yakovlev said.

"We will pursue an independent course—we will support reasonable (ideas) and will reject those that differ with our views," he said.

"As for my retirement, these are not rumours, I would be a very dishonourable person if, being the Soviet president's senior adviser, I did not reveal my plans," he said.

"Three months ago I wrote a message to Gorbachev explaining to him what made me do this. However, he, unfortunately, continues to believe that the party can renew itself. I do not believe in this any longer. However, I want to make another attempt to keep us from loosing the democratic principles of development," he said.

**Dzasokhov Post-Plenum News Conference Reported**

*914B0284A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 30 Jul 91 p 2*

[V. Raskin report on news conference given by A.S. Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, at the Oktyabrskaya Hotel following the CPSU Central Committee plenum; exact date not given: "No 'Sensation'"]

[Text] "The plenum was, evidently, of little interest to those who were expecting a sensation, who were expecting and wanting a split in the party," V.A. Gayvoronskiy, arc welder of the Azovmash Production Association and participant in a news conference in the Oktyabrskaya Hotel on the results of the CPSU Central Committee plenum, said.

Beginning the news conference, A.S. Dzasokhov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said:

"The new party program was discussed at a time when we are encountering difficulties in all walks of life. But I will say right away that the plenum was staged under conditions of the creative examination of all problem issues.... The general conclusion was that the plenum was held in a spirit of harmony. It is now necessary to find the forces to gather ourselves together internally and become a party of profound reforms."

Many pointed questions were asked, including those such as: "Is the party open to those who will derive surplus value?" The journalist who asked this question requested that it be answered by Academician L.I. Abalkin. The answer was as follows: "Anyone who shares the party's statutes and program may be a member."

Naturally, the participants in the news conference did not overlook the ukase of the president of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] on the curtailment of the activity of organizational structures of political parties and mass public movements in state bodies, establishments, and organizations of the RSFSR. It was said that the problem that had arisen in this

connection would be solved within the framework of the USSR Constitution and the current USSR law on public organizations.

The draft new program of the CPSU will be published some time later in the press. And during the preparations for the forthcoming special 29th CPSU Congress communists and all Soviet people will have a chance to have their say on various aspects of the program.

After the news conference, I asked Aleksandr Sergeyevich Dzasokhov whether he had had a worrying time prior to the CPSU Central Committee plenum.

"Yes, I had, in connection with the circumstances and the atmosphere that had taken shape on the eve of the plenum. And inasmuch as contrasts are always more perceptible, I am, after this, experiencing relief."

"When did you breathe a sigh of relief at the plenum and feel that it was moving toward harmony?"

"When practically all members of the Central Committee and the participants in the plenum realized that while being very stringent and exacting toward themselves and the party leadership, it was necessary for all this to be done on a platform of comradely mutual understanding."

V.I. Martins, team leader of the Trud Collective Farm of Leningrad Oblast's Volosovskiy Rayon, told me that at a meeting with M.S. Gorbachev after the plenum, some of its worker and peasant participants raised before the party leader very important questions concerning the situation in the country and spoke about the fate of the harvest and the economic crisis, which had affected all spheres. People locally are very concerned by various splittist actions of certain Central Committee members.

"There are 47 communists on our farm at this time," V.I. Martins said. But just recently there were 90. Many have left the party because they could not see how they could defend its ideas specifically under conditions where it was being showered with dirt. Nor, after all, did the party leadership have a specific action program. Let us hope that one now appears."

## Russian Party Resolutions Declared 'Invalid'

*LD0308192991 Moscow TASS in English 1902 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—The Secretariat of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee described today as invalid the resolutions of the constituent conference of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia, held here on August 2 and 3 by leaders of the Communists for Democracy group of the Russian Congress of People's Deputies.

To explain this conclusion, the Secretariat pointed out in a statement circulated here, that the composition of the conference, the participants in which were later described as delegates, was formed arbitrarily, in contradiction to the Soviet Communist Party rules. They were not elected either by party constituencies, nor by primary organisations, nor by territorial conferences. Non-party members also took part in the conference.

The new party has a new name, different from that of the Communist Party of Russia and the Soviet Communist Party in general. It seems to be claiming the role of a "party inside the party."

However, the CPSU rules and other documents rule out the possibility of the existence of parallel republican party organisations and a simultaneous membership in two political parties. "In conditions, when the CPSU Central Committee decided to hold an all-party discussion of the new party programme and to convene an extraordinary congress, when the preservation of unity is acquiring priority importance, the attempt to create a new party is objectively aimed at splitting the Soviet Communist Party," the document of the Secretariat stressed.

It urged participants in the conference and all Communists to exercise their initiatives, aimed at the renewal of the party, within the framework of the existing organising structures of the Soviet Communist Party.

## Prokofyev Comments

*LD0308202991 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Interview with Yuriy Anatoliyevich Prokofyev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, by unidentified correspondent ion 3 August, place not given; from the "Vremya" newscast—recorded; video shows Prokofyev seated in large office]

[Text] [Correspondent] Yuriy Anatoliyevich, the inaugural conference of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia ended today. How do you regard this event?

[Prokofyev] Well, in the first place, I think it is stretching it a bit to describe it as a conference, in so far as the delegates were not elected to it through party constituencies, not according to platforms or any other way. A group of like-minded people just got together and proclaimed the formation of a new party. That's the first thing.

The second thing I would like to point out is that what we have here is a party being set up within the Party. They declared they had created a party within the CPSU. According to our party rules, we have only regional organizations. There is no provision for a party within the Party. That means that those who join the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia will have to make a choice: either the CPSU, or the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia. There is no provision for membership of two parties in our Rules.

[Correspondent] President Boris Yeltsin's decree on departization comes into force on Monday. As the head of the city's communists, are you prepared for this?

[Prokofyev] We have had a whole series of meetings with economic leaders and secretaries of party organizations. Our position, our attitude toward the decree is well-known: we do not consider it democratic. But since the Committee for Supervision of the Constitution has not yet examined this matter we cannot break the law. In this connection I talked to Boris Nikolayevich yesterday about how this decree will be implemented. We came to the conclusion that no haste is necessary here. The transfer of party organizations to a structure along territorial lines can last six months or more. It is a huge party, and no discriminatory or repressive measures will be implemented from Monday. In principle, we have long been preparing for this, and we in Moscow already have experience of setting up territorial party organizations in popular education, health, law enforcement bodies, so this decree did not catch us unawares.

### Politburo's Surkov Opposes Yeltsin Decree

*OW0508083891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1930 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A member of the CPSU CC's Politburo, Lieutenant General Mikhail Surkov told a news conference in moscow on Friday that he is emphatically against the RSFSR President's decree banning party cells from government offices and other organization. General Surkov said that that decree did not have a direct bearing on the army. However, it could affect army-run farms providing it with foodstuffs, the staffs of military equipment repair facilities, military chairs at colleges and so on.

General Surkov said that the all-army party committee he is in the head of would be explaining the illegal nature of Yeltsin's decree. Surkov said the army was subordinate exclusively to the USSR President and would follow the laws and instructions issued only by the union leadership. Asked what will happen if a decree against party cells is issued by the USSR President General Surkov said that the army would obey. Surkov said that the Russian President's decree was the centre of attention at the second full scale meeting of the all-army party committee of the CPSU. Besides, the Plenum discussed in detail the draft program of the party pesented to the July Plenum of the CPSU CC.

According to Surkov, the draft was approved by the all army party committee as "a basis for further work". Surkov said that according to his sources, the July Plenum discussed the eighth version of the party program's draft.

General Surkov said that the party bodies of the armed forces formed a special gorup under Konastantin Khronsov to sum up and president to the editorial committee of the CC the proposals from the military. The draft program will be published early this month and discused at a full scale of the CPSU CC in September.

Surkov said that the second full-scale meeting of the all-army party committee voiced concern about the internal political situation in the country and "certain foreign policy activities".

Asked by IF's [INTERFAX] correspondent to elaborate, Surkov said that he was against a situation in which "our state accepts terms that are close to diktat". He said that President Bush's statements at the sumit about Soviet asistance to cuba and the situation in the Baltic republic were "not exactly what you call correct or appropriate."

### Baker-Bessmertnykh Mideast Trip Rumors Discounted

*LD0208231291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] As INTERFAX has reported today, citing the USSR Foreign Ministry, there will not be a joint visit by [Foreign Minister] Bessmertnykh and James Baker to the countries of the Near East. Moreover, it was not being planned either.

Rumors about the possibility of such a visit arose—it was explained—as a result of an incorrect interpretation of something Bessmertnykh said.

### MVD To Hold Crime Prevention Briefing

*OW0508013691 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1630 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Public Relations Center of the Soviet Interior Ministry [MVD] invites Soviet and foreign reporters to the ministry's press center, 16, Zhitnaya St., where on August 6 a briefing will be held on the results of the efforts to combat crime in the country in the 1st half of this year.

Leading Interior Minister officials and envoys from constituent republics will take part in the briefing.

### Minister Briefs Press on Railroad Performance

*PM0208140391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 91 Second Edition p 6*

[Article by A. Streltsov, leader of the Ministry of Railways Press Center: "Rails to the Market"]

[Text] It was not the achievements of the sector's workers that were discussed at a press conference ahead of Railroad Workers Day at the USSR Ministry of Railways. Minister L. Matyukhin noted that the collective's work has been adversely affected by the drop in

production of industrial output in the country and the disruption of economic ties.

In the first six months of this year compared with last year 159 million tonnes less freight was transported. The number of passengers also dropped by 12 percent in the half-year period. This has also taken its toll on the financial position of the Ministry of Railways. The deficit totals 10.5 billion rubles.

In order to set the situation to rights the ministry plans to mobilize all reserves so as to transport agricultural freight and create the requisite fuel stocks for the winter. The list of sources of additional income is expanding. These include contract transportation rates and faster transportation of freight. The minister stressed that all the steps being taken within the sector to strengthen the financial situation and switch to market rails ultimately aim to do one thing—improve railroad workers' living conditions and boost their prosperity.

### Yazov Addresses ZIL Anniversary Celebrations

*LD0208221491 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Summary] Celebrations were held today in the Russia cinema concert hall in Moscow in connection with the 75th anniversary of ZIL automobile works. Greetings messages from President Gorbachev and President Yeltsin were read out. USSR Defense Minister Yazov adressed the audience.

"The history of the works, he noted, is the history of the establishment and development of our fatherland's industry. There are five orders on the works' banner. The motherland's decorations signify the stages of the ZIL's long march forward, the continuity of generations of its workers. ZIL workers have made their substantial material contribution to our victory over facism by making trucks, weapons and ammunition for the front line. Sixteen thousand auto workers went to the front line from the autoworks' shops. The traditions of providing concientious service for the fatherland are continued today with dignity by the sons and grandsons of the frontline auto workers, young people raised by ZIL".

### Reform Movement's Founding Conference Postponed

*LD0308123191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Text] The founding conference of the Movement for Democratic Reforms will be postponed, from September to October. This information was received by the RIA correspondent from Stepan Sulakshin, member of the Movement's organizational committee. According to him, it is impossible to form a mass movement so quickly.

### Air Traffic Controllers To Decide on Strike 7 Aug

*OW0508013491 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0930 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The trade union of Soviet air traffic controllers will make the decision to begin or cancel the strike scheduled for August 10 on August 7. This has been disclosed to IF [INTERFAX] by the president of the union Vladimir Konusenko.

He said that the USSR Minister of Civil Aviation Boris Payukov has sent letters to local divisions demanding the fulfilment of the cabinet decision to satisfy the economic demands of the air traffic controllers as well as the ministry decision to stop the harrassment of union activists.

Konusenko said that three airports have not fulfilled the decision to drop charges against union activists.

He also stated that the cabinet decision is not carried out at most local airports. He placed the responsibility for this on the national parliament which should have passed a legal document to this end and earmarked appropriate means from the national budget.

Konusenko said that the strike will begin on August 10, if government decisions are not carried out and harrassment of trade union activists continues.

### Legality of Publishing Health Records Examined

*LD0408040191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] INTERFAX reports that the Leningrad procurator is examining the publication of extracts from the medical history of Aleksandr Nevzorov, the well known television reporter, in NEVSKOYE VREMYA from which it emerges that he was declared mentally ill in 1975 when he was examined by the military enlistment medical commission. In the opinion of the procurator, the dissemination of medical documentation containing medical secrets violates the articles of USSR law on health, on giving psychiatric help and the press.

### New-Style 'Intourist' Company Launched

*PM0408132391 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jul 91 Union Edition p 7*

[Report by I. Zhagel: "'Intourist' Split Up. What Will Remain"]

[Text] The launch of the "Intourist" All-Union Joint-Stock Company took place 26 July. There is much that is familiar in that name, al though the new organization's essence is different in principle.

Back in April of this year the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism was abolished. As a result of the reorganization which took about tthree months, several new companies were formed including the "Intourist" All-Union Joint-Stock Company. Now it is purely a tourist agency which does not possess hotels and transport, and sets up mutual relations with organizations dealing with the infrastructure of tourism on a purely commercial basis. In other words, in exactly the same way as when Soviet citizens were sent abroad and the company concluded contracts for accommodation and other forms of services with someone, so now when foreign citizens are received, it will have to do the same thing in our country.

It is interesting that the labor collective will own 40 percent of the "Intourist" All-Union Joint-Stock Company's shares, which will naturally increase personal interest in the results of the whole company's work. It has been decided that purchase of shares will be financed from the consumption fund, and then shares will be distributed throughout the collective in accordance with each person's contribution at work.

It is worth adding that apart from the "Intourist" All-Union Joint-Stock Company, the joint-stock companies "Intourist Holding Company," "Inturtrans," "Inturreklama," and a number of others have been formed.

### Customs, KGB Thwart Smuggling Attempts

*91UF1027A Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 31 Jul 91 p 6*

[Report of USSR Customs Committee Press Center: "Bar to Contraband"]

[Text] In the final 10 days of July the USSR customs authorities, in close interaction with the USSR KGB, intercepted attempts to illegally export a large quantity of valuables, including Soviet and foreign currency, antiquities and art and collectors' coins, decorations, and medals.

According to preliminary estimates, the value of the said objects constitutes several million rubles. Their artistic and historical value will be established by expert appraisal. But it is clear even now that the offenders intended to export from the territory of Georgia, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic], the Ukraine, and Belorussia unique objects of the cultural and historical property of the peoples of the USSR.

Simultaneously with this, despite the continuing shortage of consumer goods, there continue to be attempts at the mass exportation overseas of automobiles, electrical goods, liquor, bed linen, various fabrics, infant clothing and imported cigarettes. An increase in the removal of production items (nonferrous metals, ball bearings, and auto parts), embezzled from enterprises as a rule, is being observed.

There are incessant attempts by the drug mafia to use USSR territory for the transit shipment of narcotics from Southeast Asian countries to European countries. On 27 July customs officers at Sheremetyevo-2 Airport detained a foreign citizen traveling by Aeroflot from Katmandu (Nepal) to Sofia (Bulgaria) via Moscow, on whom 3 kg of heroin worth $3.5 million was discovered. Criminal proceedings have been instituted.

### Newspaper Production, Distribution Problems Aired

*PM0208135791 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2*

[Report by S. Artsruni: "Price of Glasnost. Who Dictates It?"]

[Text] Journalists wanted an answer to this question. Senior people were invited to the CPSU Central Committee Press Center—representatives of the CPSU Central Committee Ideology Department and Administration of Affairs, the Ministry of Communications, the Ministry of Railways, and the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation. The press conference organizers also promised to ensure that paper producers would be present, but at the very last moment representatives of the "Russian Timber Producers" Association declined to meet with the journalists, citing pressure of work.

And with reason, we would note. Because, in their absence, the press conference participants blamed all the problems that have hit publishers this year on the paper producers, on their intractability, and on their desire to profit from the increased demand for their products.

Ye. Manyakin, USSR deputy minister of communications, who has recently become specifically popular among newspapermen, made what was at first glance a sensational proposal: It is necessary to destroy the monopoly of "Soyuzpechat" [Main Administration for the Distribution of Printed Matter], which comes under his jurisdiction. He appealed to publishers to set up alternative structures for the delivery and distribution of periodicals which, in his opinion, would help them avoid many perplexing problems. Admittedly, his statement did not cause much of a stir. It has long been known that Ye. Manyakin has been planning to withdraw the "Soyuzpechat" from the Ministry of Communications system and thereby finally absolve himself of responsibility for subscriptions and delivery.

As for the representatives from other departments involved with this problem, there was nothing hopeful to be found in their speeches and answers. On the contrary, the arguments advanced were dismal. The Ministry of Railways, for instance, annually loses 35 million rubles [R] on delivery in the midst of an overall railroad "budget" deficit of R10 billion. The Ministry of Civil Aviation works with a R2-billion hole in its budget. According to Ye. Manyakin, the Ministry of Communications is showing a loss too. And this, he noted, is all because the USSR Cabinet of Ministers is refusing to set fixed prices for paper.

But perhaps it is not refusing but is simply incapable of so doing?

The words of V. Leontyev, director of the PRAVDA Publishing House, were a serious warning too: We have no moral right to announce the start of subscriptions for 1992, because fulfillment of the commitments for the 1991 subscription season is still in question.

But, one way or another, the subscription campaign is already starting....

### Paper Accused of 'Muckraking' Over Kaganovich

*PM0208140191 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jul 91 p 2*

[Report by K. Belyaninov: "At the CPSU Central Committee Economic Department: 'Not on the Rolls'"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee Economic Department was very surprised by our call and our question about the Communist Party's involvement in the funeral of Lazar Moiseyevich Kaganovich and preferred not to answer at all.

"That does not concern us," Yuriy Shvarkin, deputy department chief, bluntly stated. "Kaganovich was not a party member, he was expelled back in the early 1960s."

We were about to object timidly that the funeral of a venerable party member, even if a former member, is bound to be of concern to its Central Committee, but....

"A funeral is a matter for the family."

The unofficial part of our conversation with department staff was more emotional:

"Why are you always muckraking? If the Central Committee helps with a funeral, that's its own business and does not concern you at all."

### Poll Questions Warsaw Treaty Dissolution

*OW0508072991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0638 GMT 5 Aug 91*

[From the "Viewpoint" Feature]

[Text] According to the "DATA" news agency, on July 7-17 the National Public Opinion Studies Center took a survey of 1,966 respondents across the country asking them what they think about the dissolution of the Warsaw Treaty Organization.
1 out of 4 said the USSR will only benefit from it.
30 percent said the dissolution was a loss to the USSR.
37 percent could not answer.
Margin of error—3 percent.

### TASS Reviews PRAVDA for 5 Aug

*LD0508054791 Moscow TASS in English 0537 GMT 5 Aug 91*

["Soviet Press Review: PRAVDA"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 5 TASS—Today's issue of PRAVDA carries on its front page the Soviet president's decree "On Urgent Measures to Increase the Production of Goods and Services for the Population". The decree envisages a number of measures to take the country out of the crisis under conditions of transition to a market. The decree urges the governments of Soviet republics and federal departments to take prompt measures to ensure steady operations of enterprises offering services to people and producing foodstuffs, medicines, light industry goods and goods for cultural and household use, including building materials.

Under the headline "Perestroyka and Democracy Are Inseparable" the newspaper publishes an article by Deputy Procurator General of the USSR J. Dzenitys, who stresses that the Russian Federation president's decree on departisation ignores the basic legal categories. Dzenitys notes that the decree restricts substantially the right of citizens to join public associations, parties and movements, although neither the Soviet Constitution nor republican legislation forbids political parties and mass public movements to have their primary organisations or other structures within state bodies, establishments and enterprises.

The newspaper carries a report about a meeting in the Kremlin chaired by President Mikhail Gorbachev, of the Presidium of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers with the participation of the heads of government of all sovereign Soviet republics (except Lithuania). The meeting considered vital issues of interest to the country's entire population and economy. Special attention was given to the provision of food to the population. The meeting examined the situation in the fuel and power complex, the preparation for work in winter, the supplies of fuels to the population, especially in rural areas.

PRAVDA reports that the leaders of the Communist for Democracy faction of the Russian parliament held a forum in Moscow on August 2 and 3. The organisers called their forum "the Constituent Conference of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia".

The newspaper reports that the creation of a single system of bodies to control exports of valuable goods from the republic's territory is nearing completion in the Ukraine. Ninety-five permanent checkpoints and 152 mobile groups are being set up at border crossings to control imports of consumer goods and other valuable goods.

Peace Through Culture is the motto of the festival of the Gagauz language and culture which began in Moldova,

PRAVDA says. The festival programme includes performances by guests from Turkey, Azerbaijan and other Soviet republics.

In its international section PRAVDA focuses on the situation in Yugoslavia and the Middle East.

### TASS Reviews 3 Aug Soviet Central Press

*LD0308080791 Moscow TASS in English 0641 GMT 3 Aug 91*

["Soviet Press Review"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—Today's newspapers publish the text of Mikhail Gorbachev's televised address delivered on Friday.

Gorbachev said he sent a letter to republican leaders, proposing to sign the new Union treaty on August 20.

He also sent a letter to republics "which have yet to determine their positions".

On Friday, Gorbachev met Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic to discuss bilateral relations and Yugoslavia's problems, PRAVDA, IZVESTIA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA report.

Markovic spoke about developments in Yugoslavia. Gorbachev described the Soviet position towards the Yugoslav crisis.

IZVESTIA carries an interview with Soviet parliament Chairman Anatoly Lukyanov, who speaks about his visit to Switzerland for the 700th anniversary of the Helvetic Confederation.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA publishes a TASS interview with former Politburo member Alexander Yakovlev, who said he did not believe in the party renewal.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA runs an interview with former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, who also quit the party to found the movement "for Democratic Reforms.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries reminiscences by former Politburo member Yegor Ligachev, who speaks about developments in eastern Europe in the second quarter of 1989.

KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA interviews former Komsomol leader Boris Pastukhov, who is currently a Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan.

Pastukhov reminisces about the late Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev and Komsomol, as well as his work as ambassador in Afghanistan during the war.

PRAVDA carries an article by historian Roy Medvedev about the late Soviet premier Aleksey Kosygin, who led the Soviet government in the 1970s.

PRAVDA carries an interview with Kuwaiti Ambassador to the Soviet Union 'Abd al-Mohsen al-Du'ays, marking the anniversary of Iraq's aggression against Kuwait.

IZVESTIYA runs a story about life in Kuwait and the effort to rebuild the country.

## Economic

### Shcherbakov Interviewed on Economic Problems

*LD0408222591 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1840 GMT 4 Aug 91*

["Topical Interview" with USSR First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shcherbakov by reporter I. Pankov in Shcherbakov's office; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Pankov] To what extent is the USSR Cabinet of Ministers currently feeling the pulse of a country in crisis? What is it doing to find a way out of this crisis?

You have been a member of the Cabinet of Ministers for five months. How would you assess the current economic situation in the country? Has it become more difficult, or are certain firm footholds being found?

[Shcherbakov] We spent a certain period of time analyzing the situation and elaborating measures. As you know, first of all, there was the Cabinet of Ministers' program. In principle it was supported by the Supreme Soviet. Then, after prolonged and, I would say, quite difficult work on several occasions at Morozovka, it was transformed into a joint action program of the USSR Cabinet of Ministers and the governments of the sovereign republics to lift the economy out of crisis. I would say that the program takes a completely new approach relative to our prior steps. After all, previously all of our programs—at least those of the government—took as their basis that first the economy had to be stabilized, then market relations introduced.

In this program, the approach is fundamentally different. We all concluded that a way out of the economic crisis was only possible by accelerating and deepening market relations. This is a fundamental factor from which a whole range of actions subsequently ensue. Some of these actions have already been implemented.

I think that by the joint efforts of both the Union and republican organs and by enterprises we have managed to stop the economic slump, although there are some very unpleasant figures, such as the slump in national income, labor productivity and the gross national product for the first half at 10-12 percent. From June to July the situation stabilized, not from the point of view that it became better, but simply that the slump for an absolute majority of indicators stopped.

I would put it like this: It is very shaky, but there is, nevertheless, an equilibrium. It is like fragile ice. It can

be broken by any careless movement, but if we deal with this issue, we can gradually start finding a way out of this situation.

Our calculations show that most varied organizations and various specialists have been brought into this. We believe that starting in October a resurgence of the economy will gradually get under way. August and September will need to be devoted to a more serious stabilization of the situation.

Nevertheless, I think these five months have not gone by with nothing to show. They were a very complex and difficult time; but all the same, we managed to get some things done.

The government program was adopted. People talk about it a lot—perhaps a little less now—but they do ask what specific things are being done. It is being fulfilled, and there are already traces of the results of its fulfillment.

I must say that the main bulk of measures is proceeding according to the timetable that had been drawn up and which was confirmed by a decision of the Cabinet of Ministers on 12 July. In general we are proceeding according to schedule. A number of things have already been done. If we take the stabilization program, a clear and comprehensible task was set out there right at the beginning. We concluded that we will not be able to stabilize the work of the entire national economy today. We have to choose where we are to concentrate our efforts.

We chose two priority sectors: First, to stabilize the work of the base industries of the national economy—oil, gas, and coal. It is not just that we are now approaching winter and can take no risks with this process, but that if these industries are not working, then the entire national economy will not work.

The second central question is the question of providing the vital necessities for the people. For that reason it was necessary to stabilize the work of light industry, the food market, and medicine.

Quite a lot has been done in both of these areas. For example, not so long ago a decree came out from the president on the stabilization of the work of the base industries of the national economy. What is the nub of the problem? We have realized that it is not possible to revive the work of these industries by using the old methods. We have advanced the introduction of market relations. First of all, we allowed them all to market between 10 and 30 percent of their output autonomously at free prices. Second, we stepped up our work on imports in these industries.

Third, we said that for every percent increment in the daily output of oil, gas, and coal over that expected—or rather over that actually obtained in January to April—the wage fund would be increased by 5 percent. In other words, the workers in these industries, if they return the work of their industries to 1990 levels—they had fallen by about 80 percent for various indices—their wages will increase by a minimum of 50 percent. If they reach the planned indices—another 10 percent on top of last year—their wages will indeed increase by the twofold amount that was always being discussed.

I would put it like this: Today, as far as the economic basis of the work of these industries and the technical basis are concerned, these questions have been solved. Indeed, at the moment talks are just ending with firms. Eight of these decisions are completed, talks are at a final stage with another 15, and a large number of foreign firms will be involved in reviving mothballed and non-working wells.

This will provide quite a substantial inflow. I think base industries will return to a more or less normal mode of operation before the end of the year.

[Pankov] It is not a secret that many families now get their old things and clothes down from the attic and repair them for further use. What does the Cabinet of Ministers think about this? Will there be a change in the situation with foodstuffs, which is yet another acute problem?

[Shcherbakov] Today the government had a meeting at which very difficult issues were discussed. All republican prime ministers who participated—to be more precise, some of them were prime ministers, some were deputy prime ministers, in other words, republican leaders—discussed for almost four and one-half hours issues of normalizing the food and consumer markets.

The president has just returned and telephoned to clarify certain issues and said that he signed the decree on urgent measures for increasing the output of goods and services for the population. I think this is a very serious and a very powerful decree. The measures it envisages should produce quite serious effects. I would just like to recall that the government had already submitted the proposal to the Supreme Soviet—and it was adopted—saying that the entire increase in the output on the consumer market, agricultural market, in the sphere of drugs, consumer goods, and services, all of it, is to be exempt from taxation; namely, all profits gained from the increase of output are kept by people untaxed, all 100 percent.

This decree elaborates a whole number of new points. There are several issues there: The first issue is material resources. There currently are not enough material resources to satisfy everyone, and of course there are not enough for consumer goods. That is why the presidential decree says that it is necessary in 1991-92 to provide the production of consumer goods with material resources and that all enterprises must carry this out, irrespective of allocating resources for the output of productive and technical purposes.

For example, if there is a choice between issuing metal to make refrigerators or washing machines, or to produce

some other output with productive purposes, the metal by all means must be given to make refrigerators. If the enterprise fails to fulfill its obligations because of this, it will not be fined.

The second part is that we have agreed that the hard currency we obtain will, as a priority, be directed to purchase raw materials for the operation of light industry and for the production of foodstuffs. We buy a lot of ingredients for children's food, for the purposes of preservation, and a lot of tea and coffee. There are many such products, including cocoa and butter.

We then asked about the methods involved. Barter deals are tantamount to the Stone Age. It is not normal commercial activity. Nevertheless, under present conditions and taking account of the hard currency shortage, we said: To facilitate the purchase of foodstuffs, medicines, raw materials, and consumer goods, we should permit a broad implementation of barter operations, bearing in mind that every collective is able to find something, however insignificant, and that it is able somehow to help itself.

At the same time, it is necessary to change the present situation concerning import and export taxes and customs duties. I think the customs committee's decision on all those customs duties has been made independently. It is not a government decision. It must be revised forthwith. We will revise it in the next few days and, in agreement with the republics, will set preferential tariffs on the importation of what is in short supply in our country.

The president demanded of those who are in charge at all levels, both at the Union and the republican levels, to look into the uncompleted food processing facilities, one by one. After all, you know what story this is: We harvest more than anyone in the world, only to lose 25-30 percent during the storage and processing stages and to subsequently be forced to buy all this by way of imports. That is why it is necessary to make these facilities operational without delay.

This is not the end of the problem, because we have just been discussing the problem of foodstuffs and—I repeat—it took us almost four and one-half hours,. A range of other, additional measures has been prepared. In the near future there will be a special presidential decree concerning normalization of food supplies. It will concern foodstuffs, to the exclusion of everything else. The situation is such that the country is facing a real danger of hunger. This is not a subject one can waste time discussing. That is why everything ought to be done to ensure that we gather the harvest.

There are also economic measures. A special commodity exchange fund has been set up. It is for the population and agricultural enterprises alike. On the one hand, there are minitractors, motor vehicles, metal, cement, and so forth; there are many resources here, available in exchange for grain deliveries. On the other hand, a decision—which I would say is completely out of the ordinary—has been made: Fifty percent of all imported goods purchased for a specific purpose are to be made available for commodity exchange operations with people who live in the countryside. An identical operation is to be planned for the next year, and provisions are to be made for it right away.

In the anticrisis program we have made provisions for all of the organs of the State Committee for Material and Technical Supply to be reorganized into contractual systems. We already have a certain amount of experience in setting up exchanges.

Let me tell you that a unique decision was made today. In regard to our exhibition of achievements of the national economy complex in Moscow, with its 74 pavilions where we show off all our achievements, we have made what I regard as a sensible decision to make use of all 74 of those pavilions as the basis of a market structure. In other words, an immense complex of exchanges is to be organized on the basis of all those pavilions.

[Pankov] It is difficult for me to assess in detail all the virtues of the decisions being made; but overall, I feel the government's dynamism and determination. In this regard, what place and what role is being played by the other republics? Does it not seem that the government makes one decision, and then the well-known quarrels begin with the republics, which we are all generally quite fed up with?

[Shcherbakov] You know, I would put it like this: There are still certain relapses, certain difficulties arise; but in general it has come to an end. As soon as the 'Nine plus One' agreement on the Union treaty, which is now in effect 'Ten plus One'—or to put it in broader terms, all of the autonomous republics are represented, so many more people reached agreement—as soon as they reached agreement on this, the political stabilization had an immediate effect on the whole.

My collegium consists of 15 ministers from the Union republics. What is more, all of them come. It is another matter that three republics, for the moment, come as observers: Lithuania, Estonia, and Georgia. They say: We want to take part, we want to work; but for the moment we are not empowered, and for the moment we are here as observers. But they all come. I hope that, in general terms, the situation will continue to ease due to our joint efforts.

Let me say once again that we at least are confident that if everything mentioned in the anticrisis program is carried out, then a resurgence of the economy ought to start in October. It may be slow and difficult, perhaps the situation may even be grave, but overall the economy should pick up.

[Pankov] The situation will be kept fully under control?

[Shcherbakov] Yes. That is right.

## Prime Minister Pavlov Addresses Economic Issues

### Discusses Market Economics

*LD0208204291 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] USSR Prime Minister Pavlov today met leaders of industrial enterprises to discuss concluding the current difficult economic year and preparing for the even more difficult year 1992, reinforcing industry's links with the countryside and providing the country with food, fuel and other very important resources and goods.

It was emphasized that state enterprises need to be placed in the same market conditions as cooperatives and other organizations.

### Sets Date for Ruble Convertibility

*LD0308011791 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] USSR Prime Minister Valentin Pavlov told a news conference today that the government will introduce internal convertibility for the ruble in our country on 1 January.

## Railways Ministry Discusses State of Industry

### Agreements With Republics Sought

*LD0408033891 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2230 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Text] Today is Railwaymen's Day. USSR Railways Minister Leonid Matyukhin said the presidents and heads of republics with whom he has had talks understand the importance of railways for the economy of the area. So far, not one republic, including those not intending to sign the Union treaty, has ambitions for its own railway transportation. The Railways Ministry intends to conclude special agreements with all the union republics, Minister Matyukhin said. Such documents have already been signed with the governments of Kazakhstan and Belorussia. This was reported in NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA.

### 'Sorry State' of Railways Discussed

*LD0408123491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0645 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[Interview with Leonid Ivanovich Matyukhin, USSR minister of railways, by correspondent Yuriy Korotkov on the occasion of Railway Workers' Day, place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Korotkov] Leonid Ivanovich, for many years the railways minister, in greeting his workers on their festive day, would speak of the success the industry had achieved by Railway Workers' Day. With what successes are you now ushering in your festive day?

[Matyukhin] The successes are at present not a matter for delight, but for disappointment. Unfortunately, over the first seven months of the year, in comparison with last year, we carried 186 million tonnes less freight, and transportation of passengers is down by 10-12 percent. Regrettably we have not lost revenue through the fault of the railways—there is a lack of output being presented for our transportation, including coal, ore, mineral fertilizers, and a whole number of other goods. We are aggrieved that this lack of protection for the railways and railway workers is not being compensated by anyone.

[Korotkov] I understand. The political and economic situation in the country is, of course, in general to blame, but I know that the material and technical base of the railways is in a sorry state.

[Matyukhin] Yes, the material and technical base is, to put it mildly, in a poor state, and in a number of respects, such as maintenance of rolling stock and maintenance of track superstructures, it is in a critical condition. At present we are acutely in need of sleepers, rails, and rail ties. We are now in great need of metal and lumber. Hundreds of thousands of railcars are idle because they are awaiting repair. There are places for the repairs to be carried out, there are people to carry out the repairs, but there is no material to carry them out. Above all there is a lack of metal and lumber. This could, on the threshold of winter, become a big problem for the national economy. There will be goods, but nothing to transport them in and nothing to transport them along, as the track will be in disrepair.

[Korotkov] Leonid Ivanovich, would you tell us, please, whether you are pinning any hopes on the program for the transition to market relations that you adopted on the eve of Railway Workers' Day?

[Matyukhin] We certainly are. We realize that the railways are Union property, and a state enterprise. They have been, and apparently will continue to be, provided for through the Union budget, republican budgets, and other funds existing in the country. Nevertheless, in our industry we are now oriented first and foremost on ourselves. There is a need to fully get rid of those losses that we are still suffering, and on the basis of transition to the market and the creation of market structures and systems we consider that we will ensure the stable and reliable operation of the railways.

[Korotkov] Would you be a little more specific about the main trends of this program, and its main features?

[Matyukhin] Well, first and foremost we are creating special marketing structures. We have become actively involved in the work of the exchanges, where as carriers we are full members of these exchanges. We are creating special depots, structures, and organizations which will be engaged on a contractual basis in providing services

and the production of consumer goods—that is, in so-called ancillary activities. All this should restore our financial position and ensure its stable functioning.

[Korotkov] How many workers are employed in your industry, Leonid Ivanovich?

[Matyukhin] Over 3 million people are at present employed in rail transport. They are working under difficult conditions, and are still suffering privations, especially in the social sphere. I hope nevertheless that the future will be better. In conclusion, I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to greet our Soviet railway workers, thank them for their selfless work, and wish them health, success, well-being, and happiness.

### Oil Minister Interviewed on Industry

*LD0208104191 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 2005 GMT 1 Aug 91*

[Interview with USSR Minister of Oil and Gas Industry Lev Dmitriyevich Churilov by unidentified interviewer; place and date not given—live or recorded; from the "Topical Interview" program]

[Text] [Interviewer] Good evening, comrades. In "Topical Interview" today you'll be able to meet with Lev Dmitriyevich Churilov and see an interview with him. Here's an interesting biographical note: He was appointed the minister for the industry on 22 June, his birthday. How old were you?

[Churilov] Fifty-six.

[Interviewer] Fifty-six years. He has worked in the industry for 33 years. He started as an oil-rig operator, and today he's minister. Lev Dmitriyevich, to judge by the latest reports taking stock of our economy in the first six months of the year, your industry is no exception: a slump in production is continuing in it also.

[Churilov] We have tried in the first six months of the year to satisfy, by and large, the country's requirements in oil so as to produce the requisite amount of petroleum products. And the reduction in oil production, amounting to 80,000,000 tonnes in the last three years, has mainly had an impact on our exports. You will understand that our country obtains most of its hard currency from oil. So this is a very alarming symptom. We and the government have been taking every possible measure recently to halt this process.

First of all, the government, the USSR Cabinet of Ministers, has recently adopted a number of very significant and decisive resolutions and decisions which enable us to hope that we shall prevent a drop in oil recovery.

What were these decisions? First, there was a decision, prompted by the shortage of Soviet-made equipment, to allow our production associations to conclude direct contracts with foreign service companies for well repairs. We shall be leasing surface equipment and hoists. We shall do the rest with all our own efforts—our own teams and technologists. And I do not rule out that advanced technologies of Western companies, for instance, will be used in this. But it will mainly be our specialists and our (?technologists). That's the first decision.

The second decision was that the USSR Cabinet of Ministers established constant monitoring of supplies of equipment. We can already see an improvement today on certain items. We hope that there will be an improvement on all items in the second half of the year.

The third decision is a social one. The government has taken a decision to buy meat imports, for instance, for our northern regions, Siberia and Komi. The government has taken a decision, jointly with the trade unions, to increase oil-workers' pay on a gradual basis because a paradoxical situation has emerged whereby a trolley-bus driver in Moscow gets 1,000, or even more than 1,000 rubles [R], but a driller in the Tatneft association, for instance, gets R400.

In the first half of the year only 17 percent of housing has been commissioned in our branch of industry, and only 9 percent of schools and nursery schools. This can very strongly undermine that stable social situation which we have today in our oil-producing regions. And this calls for extraordinary measures.

[Interviewer] You have preempted my question. I was just going to ask you about this social situation.

[Churilov] I do not want to say that the social situation is normal in all the regions. We have some tension, there is certain tension in Western Siberia. There were seats of tension in Kazakhstan, in other regions. But I should commend the oil men—and tell you about it—on their restraint from those, let's say, actions, which were allowed in other branches of industry, first of all the miners. We do not think that these are means for solving our questions. We should try to reach solutions to our questions in a calm and well-balanced manner. Especially when, I repeat, the government has come forward. Only today Valentin Sergeyevich Pavlov has said that the government's instructions for financing our industry will be issued today.

[Interviewer] In local terms, what is the most important thing in this government decision? What will the government be paying for?

[Churilov] This measure will help to reach new capacities because, due to the lack of financing in the first half of the year, the oilmen have failed to build more than 700 boreholes. And what are 700 new boreholes today? These are the new capacities. So, we can say that the loss of oil production in 1992 will be about 5 million tonnes. And if the Cabinet of Ministers does not decide on this problem, our drilling rate would decline rapidly and this would lead to shortages of oil in the country in 1992. And the oilmen, I should tell you, have responded quickly to this package of measures adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers. They have done the impossible.

They stabilized oil recovery in July. And during a number of days, this recovery was even higher than the June recovery. Well, this is no secret, today our average daily recovery is 1.37 million tonnes per 24 hours.

[Interviewer] How does this translate in annual terms?

[Churilov] This is close to the state order level. But this is today. If we secure only this level, this does not secure the state order. That is why the oilmen are going further. They are asking the machinebuilders, and we are asking all bodies which are engaged in supplying equipment for our industry, to act like the oilmen acted in July. This is extremely difficult, extremely hard. But the industry must be furnished with equipment and the oilmen will do anything for the country to have oil and for the supply of oil to the national economy to be secured, for the necessary exports to be secured. And such possibilities exist. The resource basis—today I state this with full responsibility—today makes it possible for us, our industry, to maintain a stable oil recovery of no less than 550-560 million tonnes per annum. And this, in combination with resource-saving measures, makes it possible to secure the country's stable export to the foreign market of no less than 100 million tonnes of oil, as against 61 million tonnes this year. That is to say, the possibilities are colossal. This problem simply needs to be worked on.

[Interviewer] Among the measures which you now listed you mentioned an increase in the price for oil. Do you mean here the internal price in the country, at which the oilmen are selling their output to the refiners? Is that so?

[Churilov] Yes. I see a direct link between an increase in the wholesale prices for oil and the need for a change in the prices for gas. At any rate, this is taking place in all sectors of the national economy. The same applies to oil, too. But I think that this complicated question must be resolved by the governments of the republics in interaction with the Center, and any solutions, up to subsidies and compensation for those additional personal expenditures which will be connected with this, can be found.

[Interviewer] Lev Dmitriyevich, among the sectors of our economy, just recently Western investors have been showing the greatest interest in the energy industries. The interest of the Western world, leading oil companies, banks, and similar financial organizations in the resources of the Soviet Union, and of course, in its oil and gas is understandable. What are we primarily interested in?

[Churilov] We are reproached for the fact that we do not possess advanced technology. This is not true. The person who says this simply does not understand the situation, and does not know the industry. On the contrary, the industry is in possession of advanced technology. In part, the technology is better than foreign technology, but today, the industry does not have the equipment needed to introduce this technology. This means that what the industry is interested in first and foremost is the development of domestic machinebuilding.

A paradoxical situation has arisen. Over the last year, we have been persistently buying 20 percent of our equipment abroad, and to do what? We extract oil, introduce some sort of technology, then we sell this oil, again for what reason? We sell oil to buy equipment. It is a vicious circle and it needs to be broken, and we can see how to break it. We see that particularly after Mikhail Sergeyevich's meeting in London, and after our president Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's recent meeting with President Bush, we can see that major foreign corporations and banks look at our problems in a different way, and they are ready.

Today we held talks with one of the financial groups, Marlinbank, and they are ready to invest in the oil industry in the very direction about which I have spoken, that is to say, first and foremost in developing the production of our domestic equipment to the highest standards. Then there will be their technology, and clearly, there will be the creation of major financial corporations—joint ones—with the controlling group of shares belonging to the Soviet participant.

[Interviewer] So there is no question here of selling off our national wealth....

[Churilov] I consider that when they say, when they speak of us giving some sort of deposit as a concession, they forget that in the country there are 1.5 million oilmen.

[Interviewer] You said 1.5 million oilmen—I think that all of them, probably every single one of them today is pondering which path your industry will have to pursue in connection with the market. In conclusion, will you, will all of those who are today working on the wells, in the wind, the snow, and the rain, feel themselves the owners of some part of the area of the economy in which he labors?

[Churilov] I have already mentioned shares-issues to you. This means that every worker in any collective is the owner of part of the property. That is, he is interested in the production. He is also interested in maintaining equipment and using it assiduously. The latest observations have shown that even in a number of areas where the situation has worsened as regards the use of resources, the effective use of resources—this issuing of shares and privatization gives the possibility there of finding that lever which will interest any oil-worker who works in production. I am an optimist. You know, all oil-workers are optimists, and they must be optimists, because without optimism this is a most difficult branch of industry. It is not easy to work in it. I believe that the people who have devoted themselves to this industry are people of a special character, they are workers who are used to working constantly and reliably. For this reason I must be an optimist.

## Joint-Stock Company To Handle 'Ruslan' Planes

*PM0208134091 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Jul 91 Union Edition p 3*

[By V. Filippov: "'Ruslan' Unites Shareholders"]

[Text] Zaporozhye—The joint-stock company "Volga-Dnepr" had hardly declared its intentions when requests from foreign firms began to pour in for the sale, or, failing that, the leasing out of its wares. How then has this newborn child of the market and conversion so captured the interest of businessmen hardened by competition?

Let us, for a start, look into the joint-stock company's prospectus. Fifteen enterprises and organizations involved in the production and use of An-124 cargo aircraft, known to the world by the name "Ruslan," have pooled their capital under its auspices.

"Necessity has made us club together," V. Mikhaylutsa, member of the joint-stock board and deputy general director of the Zaporozhye "Motorostroitel" Production Association, says. "As the military refused to buy up 'Ruslans' due to the Army cuts, the question arose of stopping production of these airplanes. And this meant that tens of thousands of people in various cities in the country would lose their jobs. This was an inadmissible step. And then the scheme to use the An-124's for freight transport on a commercial basis cropped up. A survey of world market prices showed that no one else has airplanes entirely capable of delivering, say, a 100 tonne crane from Europe to America at a speed of 750 kilometers per hour.

"The country's government, through a special resolution, has given the joint-stock company 'Volga-Dnepr' permission to transport freight all over the world and exempted us from paying taxes for five years. During the years 1991-1995 we plan to produce 10 'Ruslans' for our needs. Military transport aviation has gone shares with us—the military have handed over Il-76, An-12, and An-124 'flying trucks' as their contribution. In August our first 'Ruslan' will leave for England to work on contract with the firm Heavylift."

A telephone call from the air industry complex in Ulyanovsk, which holds the main package of the "Volga-Dnepr" company's shares, interrupted the conversation with V. Mikhaylutsa. I understood from Vyacheslav Georgiyevich's conversation with his colleague in Ulyanovsk that company "reps" from Germany, the United States, Japan, and Australia had arrived and were asking for them to sell the airplanes, but the shareholders did not want to sell as it was more profitable for them to carry the freight themselves.

V. Mikhaylutsa confirmed this with the simplest of calculations: A "Ruslan's" price is $150 million and during its working life it is capable of earning $450 million. Don't you think it would be unwise to let such a profit pass you by? All the more so as 31.3 percent of the sum earned will go on paying out dividends on the shares.

The Zaporozhye engine builders are planning to use this interest, and not take a kopek from the state, to finish building a plant for producing engines for the "Ruslan" and to resolve their social problems, whose severity you can gauge merely by the fact that there are 5,000 people waiting for housing.

It is necessary to mention another benefit which cannot be measured directly in monetary terms. The joint-stock company has saved labor collectives capable of turning out competitive equipment even by world standards from collapse—which is unavoidable when a production unit is converted. What is more, the capital that was frozen within the Army (I have transport aircraft in mind) will begin to bring in a profit. Moreover, the joint-stock society guarantees work and a normal life for airmen made redundant from the Army—it is planned to build housing for them in Ulyanovsk.

And the very name of the "Volga-Dnepr" company points to the fact that a new type of relationship has arisen between Russia and the Ukraine, based on shared nonstate ownership and economic interest alone.

## Metallurgical Enterprise Chiefs Criticize Ministry

*PM0208132391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "What Concerns Metal Workers"]

[Text] The participants in the First Congress of Directors of Metallurgical Enterprises and Organizations, which ended in Moscow 31 July, unambiguously advocated a coordinated transition to market relations as part of the unified metallurgical complex.

Discussing the crisis in metallurgy, they stated that the main reason for it is the political instability in the country and the insufficiently vigorous position adopted by the USSR Ministry of Metallurgy in setting up organizational structures which correspond to existing legislation and market relations.

The congress participants appealed to presidents, Supreme Soviet chairmen, and leaders of the USSR and republic governments to urgently examine the metallurgical sector's problems at the highest interrepublic level.

USSR First Deputy Prime Ministers V.M. Velichko and V.I. Shcherbakov addressed the congress and answered questions, as did I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers.

## Agriculture

### Goskomstat Reports Early Grain Harvest Figures

*LD0408025891 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Text] The USSR Goskomstat reports that more than 30 million hectares of bread grain has been threshed. The harvest is being carried out quicker than last year. The agricultural workers have begun sowing winter crops at an unusually early date.

A total of 18 million hectares of bread grain has been threshed in the Russian Federation. The harvest is going twice as fast as last year's, yet threshing throughout the Republic is, on average, almost a tonne less per hectare. Agriculture Ministry sprecialists are sure that the gross yield of grain could amount to approximately 100 million tonnes. This means that it is possible to purchase a sufficient amount of grain from state and collective farms and other farms.

Specialists estimate that the Ukraine will harvest around 5 million tonnes of bread grain less compared with last year, which is why, together with the task of fully yielding all the harvest and preventing losses of bread grain while harvesting, the Republic's government is trying to halt all the so-called wild [dikimi] grain export channels by introducing special measures. The problem is that, despite the harvest being in full swing, the harvest delivery to state elevators and bread grain assembly points, where the bread grain is accumulated, is not increasing. More than 600,000 tonnes of grain in Zaporozhye oblast has been threshed, but less than 150,000 tonnes has been sold to the state. Only 238,000 tonnes out of 700,000 tonnes in Nikolayev oblast has been transported from the farms. A total of 170,000 tonnes out of 1 million in the Crimea have been sold [realizovano]. On the whole, the Republic has sold two times less grain to the state compared with last year.

This situation is worrying, especially since grain in state reserves determines not only whether there will be a reliable supply of bread products to the population but also whether the animal husbandry output will be maintained.

The Kazakhstan harvest is under way in 10 out of 19 oblasts, with 3 million hectares of grain and cereals already harvested. A total of 10 percent of the Republic's land is occupied by spring crops. The farms in the Chimkent and Dzhambul oblast are concluding the lowland bread grain harvest. The harvest is moving into Kazakhstan's virgin lands. The breadgrain is ready to be harvested earlier than traditionally because of the present hot and dry summer. Farms in the southern parts of the virgin lands started cutting margins in the wheatfields today, preparing them for a mass reaping. More than 80,000 harvesters will harvest bread grain in Kazakhstan's virgin lands.

### Worker Shortage Threatening Sverdlovsk Harvest

*LD0308123591 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1200 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] An alarming report has come in from our Central Urals correspondent. A difficult situation has taken shape regarding the harvesting of grain, new vegetables, and potatoes. One quarter of combine harvesters and a half of mechanized threshing floors stand idle in Sverdlovsk Oblast, which is situated in an agriculturally risky zone and which was hit by the drought. As a result of the severe drought and subsequent bad weather, which can drag on, the harvest has been threatened.

The situation is being aggravated by the fact that there are not enough people harvesting. A lot of treaties on cooperation between the town and the settlements have remained only on paper, as they did last year. A good number of enterprises have again refused to produce spare parts for agricultural machines, and to send people to gather the crops this year. This is happening in an industrial oblast where there are more towns than anywhere else in the republic. Given the present attitudes to villages, rural inhabitants are not able to feed them.

An appeal calling on the association of industrial enterprises and working collectives to save the crops was adopted at the extraordinary sitting of the presidium of the agrarian union of Sverdlovsk Oblast yesterday.

### Tula Oblast Importing Workforce

*PM0508125791 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Jul 91 Union Edition p 2*

[Report by Arnold Pushkar under the "Direct Line" rubric: "They Met with Understanding in Chuvashia"]

[Text] Tula—Two hundred and fifty combine harvester operators from Chuvashia have responded to the appeal by the Tula people and will participate in the gathering of the harvest in Tula Oblast.

IZVESTIYA has reported the decision by Tula Oblast Soviet to implement extraordinary measures to bring in the grain, of which there has been a good crop here. Due to the fact that enterprises in the oblast's cities did not send the necessary number of machine operators, a market-style step was taken and people were invited from other oblasts on the condition that, apart from being paid for their work with money and grain, 20 tonnes of grain per combine harvester operator would also be sold at state prices to the farms that have sent in their specialists.

A. Meshcheryakov, chairman of the Tula Agro-Industrial Union, explained that, knowing that the drought had resulted in a poor crop and a shortage of feed in Chuvashia, the Tula people appealed to that republic's Ministry of Agriculture and Food and met with understanding. Eighty Chuvash machine operators have already arrived in Yefremovskiy Rayon, and 25 in

Arsenyevsiy Rayon. The rest will arrive within the next few days. The representatives of the republic on the Volga will participate on a mutually beneficial basis in fall plowing, and picking apples in the orchards. Of course, because of this, some of the produce will leave Tula Oblast, which is overindustrialized. Will the collectives of the local enterprises not kick themselves later for having rejected traditional patronage ties without establishing business contacts with their region's crop farmers?

### Fuel Shortage Impact on Harvesting Viewed

*PM0208130591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Jul 91 Union Edition p 1*

[Report by M. Petrov: "In Principle We Have Fuel..."]

[Text] This year the USSR Cabinet of Ministers has already adopted three resolutions alone on the need to give priority to supply (including fuel) to the country's agro-industrial complex. Plus the president's decree in April. But the impression that the number of documents has somehow influenced the amount of gasoline, for example, received for the countryside's needs is only superficial. In practice there has been virtually no effect.

In the year so far through 20 July, the supply of fuel to agricultural consumers was 1.3 million tonnes below target. That figure includes 466,000 tonnes of gasoline and 875,000 tonnes of diesel fuel. Not a lot if you bear in mind that the harvest requires around 20 million tonnes of fuel.

Meanwhile, the grain harvest is gathering pace and in the south of the country is at its peak. Because of the steady hot weather crop farmers in many oblasts of the Russian Federation began harvesting earlier than usual. But an "unplanned" drought, for example, in Tambov or Voronezh, just like "untimely" rain can have a disastrous effect on a well-planned rural economy. The plan, seemingly well-considered on paper, to supply crop farmers with all that they need instantly begins to collapse like a house of cards.

In Tambov Oblast, one-fifth of grain harvesting equipment is out of action because of the shortage of machine operators, spares, and fuel. In some rayons in the oblast equipment is standing idle because local supply workers have not been able to obtain their fuel quotas since June. Thus harvest prospects are dwindling right before people's eyes: The crop has effectively been lost even before harvesting has begun. In Voronezh Oblast, for example, they are now producing only 10 quintals of wheat per hectare as against the proposed 24. Much more will be lost simply because the grain is remaining too long in the fields and is dying where it stands.

In Moldova the harvest has been complicated by the natural calamity which has befallen the republic. It is understandable that clearing up the aftermath will require considerably more fuel than in years free of such upheavals. However, the Ukraine, Russia, and Belorussia are not meeting their fuel supply commitments to Moldova. This year contracts have really slumped in value—they aren't worth the paper they are printed on.

The stock of gasoline in the republic is now just 1,000 tonnes against a daily requirement of 5,000-6,000 tonnes. Resourceful farm leaders are sending envoys to the oil refineries, exchanging grain, vegetables, and fruit for gasoline and buying fuel at three times the price. It is not hard to imagine what it will cost you and me then—a harvest produced in this way.

The fuel problem crops up every harvest time and, what is more, becomes more acute year by year. And each time the "brain boxes" find "objective" reasons for it. What is happening now?

People in important offices told me: The considerable reduction in volumes of oil production has meant that the refineries have received around 5 million tonnes of raw material less than planned this year. Nevertheless, this has not stopped them fulfilling the half-year plan for supplies of fuel to the national economy. So why has the countryside suffered? Simply because the city has received its full quota whereas the countryside has been short-changed again this time.

Recently the USSR Cabinet of Ministers issued a directive to ensure the countryside's paramount needs connected with the harvest from state resources. "In principle we have fuel," A. Viktorov, a leading specialist from the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food, told me. "But... until things get going, until the order is given to the reserve depots, until the fuel is shipped out, there will be no harvest. Furthermore, this is not an act of charity. The fuel taken from the state reserves will have to be made up from supplies planned for the countryside for the fourth quarter when there is still more than enough work in the fields."

On the whole, now, as in previous years, the harvest is beset by a host of problems. There are also quite a few surprises which you cannot bring yourself to call a surprise. On the eve of the sowing, for example, a problem cropped up with the so-called additives, without which you cannot produce scarce machine oils. We always used to buy these additives abroad. Well, we got by in spring. Now, when the harvest is gathering pace, it has become clear: the refineries have no additives again. If the countryside is to get the 180,000 tonnes of scarce oil that it needs it will be necessary to "scrape the barrel"—and find some foreign currency.

There is one another aspect of the present harvest which I have to mention. This is the fourth month that the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and Food has been undergoing reorganization. There is a minister but things haven't worked out so well with the ministry. The Agrosnab has its full complement of staff. And this is the third week that this staff has been waiting for new appointments. Thus at the moment there is simply no

one to respond to the "urgent signals" from the fields and to direct in some way the distribution of scarce fuel.

### Kazakhstan Raises Grain Prices

*LD0308123991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Here is news from Kazakhstan. Purchase prices for grain have been raised in the Republic. This governmental decision is a forced measure: there is drought in Kazakhstan, and the harvset will be poor.

In order to avoid deterioration in providing the population with the main kinds of foodstuffs, a few days ago the president issued a decree on introducing emergency measures in the Republic for the period of the harvest. The decision by the government was adopted in line with this decree.

### Farmers Trying To Slow Sales

*LD0508111191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 5 Aug 91*

[Excerpts] The grain elevators in Kazakhstan are ready for the new harvest. [passage omitted] This year's bread grain is already being sold to the state in Chimkent, Dzhambul, and Uralsk Oblasts. But the work is proceeding slowly. Almost 3 million tonnes of grain has reached threshing floors in oblasts where reaping is now in progress. But only 300,000 tonnes have been sold so far.

According to our correspondent, some farms are deliberately holding up the sale of bread grain in the hope of gaining later, by exchanging it for agricultural machinery and spare parts. In this way they intend to compensate themselves, as it were, for the sharp increase in prices.

### Goskomstat on Harvesting Progress

*LD0108210991 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Aug 91*

[Excerpt] We have received data from the USSR Goskomstat on the progress of the harvest. Grain crops from an area of more than 30 million hectares have been threshed. Harvesting is proceeding at a faster pace than it did last year. The sowing of winter crops has started unusually early. [passage omitted]

### Purchasing Chairman on Stimulating Farm Production

*LD0208074591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 1 Aug 91*

[Text] The chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Food Purchasing, Mikhail Timoshishin, has said that though this year's grain harvest will be lower than last year, the country will not face a grain deficit. In an interview, he said that it is possible to precure the necessary amount of grain to ensure the population's requirements for bread and its products, but for that we should financially stimulate the producers. They delay grain sales to the state because of economic disorders.

Mr. Timoshishin also said that some beneficial conditions had been established for the farms. For example, for extra amounts of grain sold to the state, the farmers will receive agricultural machinery, consumer goods, and building materials. Part of the grain will be purchased for hard currency.

### State-Run Sheep Farming Seen As Inefficient

*PM1907102591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 16 Jul 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast: Report by T. Khudobina]

[Text] [Khudobina] Every spring processions of vehicles go up into the mountains bearing unusual passengers from the Dagestan farms near Kochubey. State sheep are being taken up into the high pastures. By the fall their weight and consequently the profit will have increased—after all the price of lamb on the market is 16 Rubles [R]—and then they are returned to the kolkhoz. However, this journey costs both the sheep themselves and the state a great deal. But it's literally not worth anything to the drivers—who receive R5 a day for driving 300 km along mountain roads with a live and restless cargo. And seeing as they aren't paid properly, no responsibility is required of them. It doesn't matter whether they hand over the sheep dead or alive—the main thing is to fulfill the order. You will agree, this picture does not fit in with the traditions of the Caucasus. And indeed the highlanders themselves, looking with indifference on such chaos, do not create the impression of being masters of this area. However, to return to our sheep—while they are grazing in a state herd and under state supervision—virtually nothing will remain of the golden fleeces.

### Chelyavinsk Vegetable Prices Rise 'Threefold'

*LD0508127591 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1000 GMT 5 Aug 91*

[Summary] Prices of vegetables have risen threefold in Chelyabinsk markets even though farms on the city's outskirts have grown a good harvest of cabbage, cucumbers, carrots, and beets. The network of state-owned shops has bought up large quantities of early cabbage from Azerbaijan and is now preventing supplies of local vegetables from going on sale. This forces customers to buy what is already available in the shops.

### Agriculture Official Discusses Short Milk Supply

*LD0408044191 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1518 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Interview with Valeriy Nikolayevich Sergeyev, head of the main directorate of the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and Provisions, by correspondent Oleg Yermakov in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Sergeyev] The river of milk had never subsided until this year, but this year, especially in the first half of this year, the situation has become most unfavorable. On the whole, the supply of milk has fallen by 13 percent. If one wants to express this in figures, then the milk supply has fallen by more than five million tonnes.

[Yermakov] Why?

[Sergeyev] There are many reasons for this. There is the move to a market and the issue of the rise in procurement prices. There is also the issue of sovereignty: the republics which should supply milk to the union reserve have fulfilled their obligations by only 82 percent. In the public sector, during the last three years, a tendency has started of a reduction in the production of milk by cutting the number of livestock. There are a lot of such moments in this case, but, in the end, they all lead to the primary issue of fodder.

[Yermakov] Our rivers of milk are running short, and this leads to the shortage of all milk products on the consumer's table.

[Sergeyev] We processed 77 million tonnes of milk last year. Out of this, we returned 20 million tonnes of skimmed milk to the agricultural sector. If we do not supply half of the milk which is being produced with such enormous effort by the agricultural sector as a foodstuff and return it unprocessed, then it is extremely difficult to expect in the nearest future any good results or to satisfy the population in milk products.

[Yermakov] The problem of milk products in our country, to a great deal, depends on it being processed. It is here that one can say that nothing has been done yet.

[Sergeyev] The milk industry is approximately 20-25 years behind developed foreign countries in the technical level of processing milk and, in the first place, in the level of the technology which is used in processing milk. No matter how much we talk about attracting conversion and the potential of the defense industry—yes, one can say that the enterprises of this industry do help create equipment—but today, in reality, the return from such enterprises is very low. In any case, during the last five year period—that is, during the previous five-year period—we managed to reinforce the capacity with the help of the defence industry by approximately 10 percent.

## Scientific

### International Interest in 'Zenit' Rocket Viewed

*PM0208104491 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Jul 91 First Edition p 4*

["Reportage From the Cosmodrome" by KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Vorobyev: "Zenit": Postponed Launch"]

[Text] Saturday 27 July, 1991. The Baykonur Cosmodrome. The "Zenit" booster rocket stands on the launch pad in readiness for the launch. Its payload is to be a military-technical satellite. The purpose of inserting it into orbit is for verification of the fulfillment of treaty commitments on disarmament problems. Representatives of the Australian Space Organization, headed by Doctor Bruce S. Middleton, are present for the launch, along with your correspondent.

"Zenit" is shaped like a pencil. Except it is 57 meters tall!

Dr. Bruce Middleton asks knowledgeable questions, after all, he is managing director of the Australian Space Organization. With him are experts from the United States and Australia. The shutters of their cameras are clicking. Sometimes Colonel Yu. Zorin, chief of the center for testing and launching space devices, makes a warning gesture. The experts understand and nod: For them, until a contract has been signed, this is a commercial and technical secret. At this time there are no service personnel on the launch pad. The launch will be soon. To the experts' surprise, all the work is fully automated, according to a well-rehearsed "unmanned launch" procedure.

The Australian representatives still have time to walk around the launch installation and inspect the installations at the space rocket complex. For myself, I hurry to the launch control center, which is in an underground building not far from the launch pad. I descend through the stories—first, second, third. It is hot on the surface, but down here it is cool. The huge metal doors of the bunker, with wheel-operated locking systems, are impressive. And here is the room where the control panel is located. On the monitor screens you see the "Zenit," ready for launch.

From here commands are issued over the loudspeakers by the "gunner"—Lieutenant Colonel D. Chistyakov, commander of the engineering-testing unit. His deputy is Major A. Svetlichnyy.

I see the excitement in Colonel General of Aviation German Stepanovich Titov, "cosmonaut number two." He is now first deputy chief of the Defense Ministry Space Units. The previous evening I talked with him on the banks of the Syr-Darya, at the very spot where, in 1961, the State Commission sat prior to Gagarin's flight. German Stepanovich says:

"For me, 'Zenit' means many years of my life, my favorite child. Its engine is truly unique—ecologically, the cleanest that exists in the world. I know a number of foreign firms are showing interest in it. After all, the booster rockets that exist today were for the most part designed several decades ago. "Zenit" has excellent specifications: With a launch weight of 439 tonnes, it can insert 15 tonnes of payload into orbit. I remember how V. Utkin, who at the time was general designer and general director of the "Yuzhnoye" Science and Production Association, called me and unofficially invited me to become chairman of the state commission for the

"Zenit" program. I realized the work would take many years. But do you know what it meant to become chairman of this commission?! It was necessary to take "Zenit" all the way from bench tests where the engine blew up literally after 30 seconds, to full readiness for use in space. I led 14 first launches. And they were all successful. When I was on leave I learned about the disastrous 15th launch. Nonetheless I am convinced that "Zenit" will prove itself."

Specialists from the Defense Ministry Space Units cited a number of interesting figures about 'Zenit.' For instance, it is the first booster rocket to be launched by an automated system. The time to takeoff from No. 1 readiness is 10 times shorter than for the "Proton." A launch of the analogous American "Titan," according to experts' assessments, costs around $35 million, while "Zenit" costs several times less. True, "Titan" can take 17 tonnes into orbit, while our booster can as yet carry only 15 tonnes (but that is not the limit, it is improving).

A launch of the French "Ariane" costs 35 million francs, so here too the comparison is in favor of our booster rocket. And "Ariane's" payload is less than "Zenit's."

...From the observation post viewing platform to the launch site is several kilometers. This is a safety requirement. A group of foreigners with binoculars waits for the launch. I already know nearly all of them—Robert Goss, Brogan Edward Layton, Egan John (who is rather like James Bond, the darling of the thriller fans), and also Ulibarri Entoni [name as transliterated]. The automatic withdrawal of the transport installation unit proceeds smoothly. The rocket stands awaiting its flight. A minute to go, 30 seconds. And suddenly the hissing over the loudspeaker falls silent. Something has happened there, on the launch pad. Involuntarily I check the time—seven seconds to launch. Will the automated system work now, will it have time to halt all the systems, or, on the contrary, will it release the rocket from its "embrace"? And then an order comes over the speakers—launch postponed. Seven seconds away! I see the Australians discussing the situation.

Now it is necessary to find out the reason for the hitch. Everyone is calm. This has happened often, not only to us. Universally, if there is even the slightest doubt, experts prefer to postpone the launch. Dr. Bruce Middleton, managing director of the Australian Space Organization, after a concrete assessment of the situation, confirmed in a conversation with cosmodrome experts that the postponed launch will in no way affect the conviction felt by him and the experts, who have previously visited virtually every cosmodrome in the world, that "Zenit" is reliable.

"We value highly the openness and frankness we have encountered here," Middleton told your correspondent. "We saw them assembling "Zenit" in Dnepropetrovsk, and now at Baykonur we have seen them preparing it for launch. This openness is very important for the future use of Soviet space technology for commercial purposes."

He also shared the Australian Space Organization's plans for creating an international cosmodrome in Australia.

And so the "Zenit" booster rocket is once again preparing for launch.

### Two Nuclear Power Plants Stop Turbines

*LD0308215191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] There has been an unscheduled stoppage of the turbine at the first power block of Balakhovskaya AES [Nuclear Electric Power Station]. According to ATOM-INFORM agency, the turbine was switched off because the gas temperature had increased in the generator because of a fault that has appeared in the circuit of the water cooling pump of the gas cooling generator. At the same time the reactor was unloaded until the fault is repaired.

In addition, a turbine in the power block no.1 of Khmelnitskaya AES has been switched off owing to the drop in gas pressure in the generator's cooling system. There is no deviation in the radiation levels at the two energy blocks.

### Correspondent Denied Access to Nuclear Test Site

*PM0508110591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Aug 91 p 3*

[Unattributed report: "Deputies and Press Not Admitted"]

[Text] Residents of Yamalo-Nenetsk Autonomous Okrug are alarmed by the proximity of the Novaya Zemlya nuclear test site. This is promoted by the lack of information about how dangerous the tests are for northerners' health and the environment. In response to public pressure and owing to local soviets' insistence, the military department has for the first time authorized a visit to the test site. The name of ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA's own correspondent featured on the delegation list, but at the very last minute a cable came from Moscow signed by General Zolotukhin banning USSR and RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies, along with mass media representatives, from making the trip. Well, it only remained for my batch of questions to be conveyed via Aleksandr Kuzin, first deputy chairman of the okrug soviet. The answers to these and the personal observations made by the lucky visitors to Novaya Zemlya boil down to the fact that the test site, if I can say this, constitutes an "ecologically clean and harmless production unit." The radiation background does not exceed 10-60 milliroentgens, presenting no danger to health.

And roughly 12,000 people live there, including roughly 1,000 children, and they are all quite healthy.

That's all fine. But I wonder: In that case what was the general afraid of? Did he not cast doubt by his actions on the information about the "favorable situation" at Novaya Zemlya?

### 'Pocket of Increased Radiation' in North Ossetia

*LD0408143691 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1400 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[Text] The North Ossetian geological exploratory expedition has discovered a pocket of increased radiation. The experts say that the level of radiation in the area of a waste site is six times the level of background radiation. The Pobedit metallurgical works is to blame for the situation.

The experts intend to continue their investigation into all the possible consequences of yet another mishap cuased by industrial negligence.

### Two Future Flights to Mir Complex Combined

*LD0508100591 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 5 Aug 91*

[Text] The space flight control center has decided to combine two following expeditions to the Mir orbital complex.

There are a Soviet-Austrian crew and a Soviet-Kazakh crew simultaneously training for a flight to Mir at Zvezdny town near Moscow. Austria is represented by Franz Viehboeck and Klemens Lothaller, and Kazakhstan, a republic where the Baykonur cosmodrome is situated, by (Takhtar Albakirov) and (Tolgat Musabayev).

Which of the pair will be flying will be decided before the launch, due to take place before the end of this year.

### New Smelter Reduces Steel Plants' Coke Use

*LD0508133191 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1000 GMT 5 Aug 91*

[Text] A new technology for furnace smelting has been created by metallurgists and scientists at the Institute of Cybernetics of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The idea lies in the proportional consumption of additional fuel. This is used in blast furnances, in particular, at the Donetsk Metallurgical Plant. The realization of the new technology leads to a significant reduction in the use of coke and energy resources. According to the opinion of specialists, the wide use of this technology will save more than a million tonnes of coke a year.

## Military

### Filatov Says U.S. Seeks North Hemisphere Hegemony

*PY0108144491 Sao Paulo FOLHA DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 30 Jul 91 Section 2, p 3*

["Exclusive" interview with Major General Viktor Filatov, director of HISTORICAL-MILITARY MAGAZINE, by unidentified FOLHA reporter in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] [FOLHA] Is the United States still an enemy of the USSR?

[Filatov] I usually tell my subordinates that the United States is our friend. But one of them will always ask: Then why do they keep their forces aimed at us? I then repeat that the United States is our friend. Yet another one will ask why did they not dismantle any military bases they built to attack us?

[FOLHA] How would you evaluate the fact that the West is moving closer?

[Filatov] Gorbachev does not have a professional view of the military danger. He is dedicated to political exercises. He does not give priority treatment to the information he receives from military intelligence.

[FOLHA] What is the change of line you are predicting?

[Filatov] There recently was a meeting of officers in Kiev, Ukraine. They discussed the creation of their own army. That forces Gorbachev to consider Defense the main ministry instead of the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

[FOLHA] What is the information from military intelligence that Gorbachev does not pay attention to?

[Filatov] The reduction of the Armed Forces. The process that is taking place here has no match in the United States. There they are reducing unnecessary weapons. They did not cut any nuclear submarines. We are eliminating midrange missiles in Europe without knowing what the future of Germany will be. Our leaders today fear the United States like Stalin feared Hitler.

[FOLHA] Then what is the U.S. strategy?

[Filatov] The United States wants to unify all white populations from Los Angeles to Vladivostok under its hegemony. They want to create a North-South conflict to replace the East-West conflict. Their enemies now are the Chinese, Iraqis, and blacks.

[FOLHA] Can military dissatisfaction lead to a coup d'etat?

[Filatov] There currently is a worse, terrible process under way. The Kiev meeting I mentioned is an example. With our military reductions, 500,000 men left the military, including 100,000 officers. They were humiliated and unemployed. We turned them into enemies of

the Army, and they are protected and organized by the separatists and the Mafia. Nobody in the West did that with their army.

[FOLHA] Then do you think there will first be a civil war rather than a coup?

[Filatov] Hitler failed in his attempt to implode the USSR by throwing one ethnic group against the other. The West now is pursuing the same method. The United States is sponsoring a low-intensity war to encourage separatism in the republics.

[FOLHA] Is George Bush visiting the Soviet Union as president of a country at war with the USSR?

[Filatov] It is like the theater of the absurd, but the people perceive it.

### Yazov Address to Army Party Secretaries Cited

*PM0508084291 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 2 Aug 91 First Edition p 1*

[TASS report: "New Impetus in Work"]

[Text] The All-Army Rally of Secretaries of USSR Armed Forces Party Committees continued in Moscow 31 July. The participants worked in sections and met with chiefs of departments of the All-Army Party Committee. The discussion concerned the ideological, theoretical, and professional training of Communists, information links in Armed Forces party organizations, and the party committees' work with cadres.

The participants in the rally were addressed by USSR Defense Minister Marshal of the Soviet Union D.T. Yazov.

Today, he said, the Treaty on the Reduction of Strategic Offensive Arms is to be signed. This document is unique in its worldwide historical significance. It continues and deepens the nuclear disarmament process that began with the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Short-Range Missiles, and is another major step along the path of demilitarization of international policy and the creation of a system of universal security.

It is beyond doubt that this step accords with the vital interests of the Soviet people and all the planet's peoples, with the cause of mankind's social progress and peace. And today it is worth recalling that this, like all the previous steps radically to improve the world political climate, became possible thanks to perestroyka in the USSR. And who started perestroyka? The CPSU. Who launched and is consistently deepening the democratization process? The CPSU. Who was the initiator of the move away from superarming toward defense sufficiency in the international arena? The CPSU.

Objective, honest, truthful answers to these and other topical questions that life poses today—that is the starting point in the work of Armed Forces party committees and party organizations.

The defense minister told the participants in the rally about the concrete parameters of the START Treaty and explained in detail the political, economic, and purely military aspects of the disarmament talks process. He stressed the particular importance of the treaty signed by the Soviet and U.S. presidents in Moscow as a powerful factor restraining the proliferation of nuclear weapons. And positive processes, begun on the initiative of the USSR and by force of its example, are developing in the conventional arms sphere too, D.T. Yazov noted. Following the lead of our country, which unilaterally implemented a half-million reduction in its Armed Forces, plans to reduce the numerical strength of their troops have been announced by the United States, Britain, and the FRG. This is indisputably a positive process, and the Soviet Union is in favor of developing and widening it in every way on the basis of the principles of reciprocity, confidence, and identical security for the sides. In formulating and implementing its own military policy and military doctrine in line with this process, the USSR comprehensively assesses the actual military danger and implements appropriate measures to maintain the country's defense capability and the Armed Forces' combat readiness at a necessary and sufficient level. The abstract pacifism, divorced from political realities, which has become widespread in our country today is theoretically bankrupt, politically destructive, and dangerous to the Fatherland's future in practice.

The preservation and strengthening of united, combat-ready Armed Forces capable of reliably and effectively defending the sovereignty of our multinational state—that is the general thrust of the activity of party organizations and all Communists in the Army and Navy. This incorporates all the concrete practical tasks tackled by Communists every day in staffs, formations, units, ships, institutions, and enterprises of the Defense Ministry. And whatever spheres these tasks may cover—combat readiness, combat training, military discipline, the resolution of social and domestic problems, the organization of leisure—they are all ultimately focused on people, on their interests, aspirations, and needs.

For Communists, the USSR defense minister noted, the front line in their work has always involved people's hearts and minds, and this is still true today. Their prestige, their real influence among the masses depend directly on the willingness and ability actively, assertively, and cogently to defend the people's historical values and gains, their honor and dignity, their patriotic and internationalist traditions, and consistently and firmly to pursue the line of the socialist choice.

It is important to reveal openly, boldly, and in concrete terms the true political and moral face of those who, adapting themselves for the purposes of expediency and pursuing self-seeking goals, have hastily turned their coats and gone over to the so-called "opposition" camp, and are trying to undermine the CPSU's unity and weaken the cohesion of our ranks. In essence, the efforts being made under the banner of "departyization" are aimed at forcing the CPSU out of the structures that

determine the social nature and political course of the state. But since politics abhors a vacuum, the space vacated as a result of this pressure will promptly be filled by political forces of a different orientation, one that is objectively at variance with the people's vital interests. It is plain to see that today's homegrown "democrats," in conjunction with national separatists and extremists of various hues, are trying to shatter, dismember, and pull apart the Armed Forces—that most important bulwark of statehood, stability, and security. And the main obstacle, the basic hindrance to the realization of these ruinous plans consists, in the view of the destructive forces, in the party organizations and Communists who form the political nucleus, the backbone, of the military collectives.

We must adopt and creatively apply all the best things from past experience. The country has reached the 50th anniversaries of the most important events of the Great Patriotic War. We must extol the military and labor feat of the people and Army in that war and point out the sources that gave life to that feat: patriotism, the peoples' friendship, loyalty to military and civic duty, devotion to the cause of socialism, the cause of October. We must speak of this aloud, so that historical truth cannot be hidden from the people or blackened by today's hostile critics of our Fatherland's past, who do not shrink from cynically trampling on the memory of those Soviet people who won the Great Victory in the last war and saved mankind from fascism. It is important graphically to reveal the place and role of front-line Communists and Communist rear workers in the Great Patriotic War period in routing the aggressor. Today's Army and Navy party members inherited from them the banner of service to the Fatherland.

D.T. Yazov stressed that unity, cohesion, the clear and firm life stance of Army and Navy Communists, and their orientation toward tackling concrete tasks and problems facing the troops are vitally necessary to the success of the current military reform in the Armed Forces. He particularly drew the attention of the party committee secretaries to the fact that reform is impossible without the profound understanding and support of officers, Army and Navy warrant officers, sergeants, petty officers, soldiers, and seamen for the current and planned transformations. And that is the Communists' field of activity. Direct and active participation in the resolution of social and domestic problems and the strengthening of servicemen's social and legal protection is a matter of vital importance to party organizations. We must not forget the well-known Marxist truth that any idea, however compelling, is doomed to failure if it is divorced from people's interests. The servicemen's interests should be paramount in party work.

Practical concern for their professional growth, the widening of their political and cultural outlook, the best possible satisfaction of their needs and aspirations, and the realization of state guarantees of their legal and social protection—that is the crucial guarantee of the party workers' high prestige and the success of all the activity of Army and Navy party organizations. Having gained autonomy as a result of the transformations in political organs, they are working in close collaboration with commanding officers, military-political organs, and all the democratic institutions of the Armed Forces.

A process of introducing new forms of influencing Communists is under way actively in the party organizations, the spheres of personal accountability and evaluation of their activity are widening, and the emphasis is on the individual approach. But it is also true that by no means all party committees have found forms and methods of work appropriate to the tasks of combat and mobilization readiness and the improvement of the quality of troop training, appropriate to the new phenomena associated with the deterioration in interethnic relations in a number of regions of the country and with the continuing anti-Army campaign in the "independent" mass media. Many people are still lagging behind events and are totally unable to find their place in educational work and the resolution of the tasks facing the troops. We will not be able to overcome and eradicate the negative phenomena taking place among the troops unless we ensure that the honor of the serviceman and first and foremost the Communist, his dignity, morality, attitude to military duty and service commitments, and personal discipline are appropriate to the highest ideas and demands.

In conclusion the USSR defense minister noted that active, energetic party work oriented toward real people in the Army and Navy is an integral and essential component of military life. It is a very important factor for strengthening unity of command on a democratic rule-of-law basis and establishing in the Armed Forces a sound moral and political atmosphere and a sense of responsibility for the fulfillment of the constitutional duty of defending our multinational Fatherland—the USSR.

The participants in the rally were addressed by Colonel General N.I. Shlyaga, chief of the USSR Armed Forces Main Military-Political Directorate and USSR first deputy defense minister. He drew attention to the need for closer collaboration in the work of military-political and party organs to ensure the combat readiness of the USSR Armed Forces.

### Yazov Reportedly Wants Draft Deferments Abolished

*PM0408133591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Aug 91 p 1*

[Report from RIA, IMA-PRESS, URAL-AKTSEPT, TASS column: "Away With the Parliament?"]

[Text] According to reports from the Committee for Public Education, USSR Defense Minister D. Yazov has submitted an official memorandum to USSR President M. Gorbachev suggesting that daytime students be drafted into the Army this fall. There are serious fears that the abolition of the "deferment" will be adopted bypassing parliament.

**Residents Near Semipalatinsk Offered Compensation**

*LD0408163391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1400 GMT 04 Jul 91*

[Text] The Defense Ministry has offered 5 billion rubles to residents of rayons bordering the Semipalatinsk testing ground in compensation for three nuclear tests of over 20 kilotons scheduled there. The Kazakhstan Supreme Soviet decided to hold a referendum on this issue among the local population in August.

Suleymenov, President of the "Nevada-Semipalatinsk" movement, called upon the future participants to vote against the issue at the referendum. Five billion rubles is a sufficiently big sum for our country, and I would like to dwell on this information a bit further. Where is the Defesne Ministry going to get the 5 billion rubles? They can hardly be obtained as a result of an unplanned privatization of generals' summer houses. As a matter of fact, when the budget of the Defense Ministry for this year was being ratified at a session of the USSR Supreme Soviet, all its main articles were revealed for the first time. And no such article, mentioning a sum of 5 billion, was mentioned there.

### Baltic Fronts, Baltic Council Issue Appeals

*LD0408104491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[Text] We have already reported that an urgent sitting was held yesterday in Vilnius by the Latvian and Estonian People's Fronts, the Lithuanian Sajudis, and the Baltic Council. Two documents were adopted at the sitting: An Appeal to the People of the World, and an Appeal to the United Nations. It is stressed in the Appeal to the People of the World that the aggression against the three Baltic states, started on 23 August 1939 by the Stalin-Hitler Pact, is continuing. The destruction of customs houses, occupation of state buildings, threats to the peaceful unarmed population, and constant terror—all these heavy crimes—are carried out by KGB special services and USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs OMON testify to the struggle of barbaric forces against justice and common sense.

Furthermore, the Appeal to the People of the World indicates that the People's Fronts of Latvia and Estonia, and the Lithuanian Sajudis, invite the people to voice their protest against coercion by means of actions on the Burning Baltic Road [as heard] on 23 August, at 2000. Bonfires from Vilnius to Tallinn will remind the world about our determination for independence. This action will warn the world community that the threat from the Soviet Union still exists.

In the Appeal to the United Nations, the Baltic Council requests that the UN International Forces be sent in to maintain peace in the cities of the Baltic countries.

### Further on Appeals, 23 August 'Action'

*LD0408165891 Moscow TASS in English 1620 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Ustsila]

[Text] Vilnius August 4 TASS—The "Blazing Baltic Path" is the name of an action to attend which the Latvian and Estonian Popular Fronts and the Lithuanian Sajudis Movement invited residents of the three Baltic republics. The decision to hold the action on August 23 was made at an urgent meeting of the three republics' public movements held in the Lithuanian capital on Saturday.

In the opinion of its organisers, the action, which was timed to coincide with the anniversary of the signing of the Molotov- Ribbentrop Pact, should reminisce to the world the Baltic republics' will and determination "to seek independence."

The meeting adopted two appeals: to the people of the world and to the United Nations organisation.

## Estonia

### Edgar Savisaar Says Gorbachev 'Not in Control'

*LD0308093191 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Both George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev have been put in an embarrassing situation because of events in Lithuania, said the head of the Estonian Government, Edgar Savisaar, during a news conference broadcast on Estonia's television.

Because Gorbachev regards Lithuania as part of the Soviet empire, it has now become obvious that he is not in control of the situation in his state, and allows terror. George Bush has on his part signed an agreement guided in principle by a president who has lost control. Thus the conclusion can be drawn that if Gorbachev does not take radical steps in view of the events in Lithuania, such as the dissolution of the OMON [special purpose militia detachment] or a change in military leadership, it will be obvious that a certain part of the Army and the KGB really does not obey the president.

### Gorbachev in 'Complicated Situation'

*LD0508034591 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Text] Events in Lithuania have put both George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev in a complicated situation, Edgar Savisaar, head of the government of the Republic of Estonia, told a news conference carried on Estonian television. Just as Gorbachev regards the Baltics as part of the Soviet empire, it has become clear that he is not in control of the situation in his state and is allowing terrorism. George Bush, in turn, signed an agreement, in principle, with a president who has lost control. From this, one can conclude, Edgar Savisaar said, that, in the event that Gorbachev does not take radical measures on the Lithuanian events, such as disbanding the special purpose militia detachment or changing the military leadership, this will mean that a certain part of the army and the state security committee is not, in fact, subject to the president.

### Day of Mourning Declared for Medininkai Victims

*LD0508040391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Text] The Government of the Republic of Estonia decided to declare today a day of mourning for the victims of the Lithuanian-Belorussian customs post tragedy.

### Republic's Meeting With Soviets Postponed

*OW0508050991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1630 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The next round of consultative talks between Estonia and the USSR planned for 6th August will not take place. The announcement was made in a telephone message to Kalja Mourisepp, the deputy of the Permanent Representative of the Estonian Republic in Mosow from Viktor Anikin, the assistant of the deputy prime minister of the USSR, Nikolai Laverov, who heads the Soviet delegation in the negotiations.

According to Victor Anikin, the Soviet team is not ready for the meeting which by prior arrangement was to discuss the historical judicial question of the union between Estonia and the USSR, as well as problems of economic cooperation.

As a "BALTFAX" correspondent reported earlier, Nikolai Laverov's delegation was handed in advance the documents prepared by the Estonian side. A meeting of economic experts had also already taken place.

On 2nd August, the Estonian delegation together with the experts restated their readiness to participate in the said discussions.

It should be remembered that on 6th August 1940 the Supreme Soviet of the USSR legally approved the entry of Estonia into the Soviet Union.

### More on Postponement of Meeting

*LD0308203791 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1958 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Text] The next round of talks between Estonia and the Soviet Union, which was set for 6 August, will not take place. According to the aide to the head of the Soviet delegation, Laverov, the USSR delegation is not ready for the talks, the main subject of which is to be historical-juridical issues concerning Estonia's joining the USSR.

### People's Front Addresses 'Russian Question'

*LD0508043591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Russian question in Estonian politics is being examined at today's Estonian People's Front conference. The Estonian People's Front feels a special, self-governing body should be set up to protect the ethnic and cultural interests of ethnic minorities on the republic's territory. The People's Front suggests that a guarantee can be made to Estonia's Russian population through a bilateral treaty with the Russian Federation that enshrines the rights of the Estonian Republic's biggest community which speaks a different language.

### Popular Front Conference To Open 4 August

*OW0508052591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1300 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A conference of the Estonian Popular Front opens August 4 in Tallinn. BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent reports that among other things it will focus on "the Russian question in Estonian politics" and principles of the Estonian Popular Front's work with the Russian-speaking population of Estonia.

Just to remind you, Prime Minister of Estonia Edgar Savisaar is one of the leaders of the Front and its faction is the largest in Parliament.

### Economic Trade Agreement Signed With CSFR

*LD0308020791 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] An agreement on permanent trade, economic, and scientific and technical cooperation between Estonia and the CSFR was signed in Tallinn today:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] This treaty is the first concluded by the sides since World War II, and for Estonia it is altogether the first of its kind since the republic declared independence.

[Rudolf Slansky, CSFR ambassador to the USSR] The treaty opens the path to the future for us.

[Unidentified correspondent] According to the protocol of the agreement, Estonia will, in the first instance, receive spare parts for Czechoslovak machinery and for printing equipment from the CSFR, as well as medicine. Estonia will start to supply construction materials, electric motors, and ore products to the CSFR. [end recording]

### Further on CSFR Trade Agreement

*LD0408164991 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 2330 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Text] An intergovernmental agreement on permanent trade, economic, scientific and technical cooperation has been signed between Estonia and the Czechoslovak Republic. Estonia will receive spare parts for technical and printing equipment as well as medicine from the CSFR. The republic will export building materials, electrical engines and fish. The CSFR has already concluded similar agreements with the Russian Federation, the Ukraine and Belorussia.

### Republic To Reject Economic Alliance With USSR

*OW0508075591 Moscow BALTFAX in English 0930 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a Tallinn news conference on Thursday the Estonian Prime-Miniser Edgar Savisaar said that "Estonia is not only staying out of the Union Treaty, it is also unwilling to join the so-called economic union on the basis of the former USSR".

He did not deny the importance of horizontal economic ties or agreements between the republics, though. Still he described as unacceptable the conclusion of an economic treaty that would be a milder version of the political Union treaty. The Estonian leader felt that an economic treaty could be signed by some of the six "non-alligning republics".

The Prime-Minister said he failed to get the draft of the Union Treaty worked out by the leaders of 9 republics.

"I was told that it is an absolutely secret document and had been sent only to the 9 leaders," Savisaar said.

Commenting on the visit of President Bush to the USSR he said that the tragic developments in Lithuania put both presidents in an awkward position: "Gorbachev was in a false position because he is incapable of controlling the situation in the country which he thinks includes Lithuania, and Bush because he signed agreements with such a president."

According to the Estonian Prime-Minister, Gorbachev should take resolute steps, "for example, withdraw the Black Berets or change the KGB and army command" in Lithuania. If this does not happen, Savisaar said, it will become clear that these structures are not obey the USSR president.

He announced that a new agreement is being drafted between the Estonian Government and the USSR Interior Ministry on placing two regiments of the USSR Interior Ministry, including a convoy one, under Estonian command.

Under the first agreement concluded on August 1, 1989, when Vadim Bakatin was minister, the Estonian Interior Ministry was granted independence.

### Identification Card Applications Being Accepted

*LD0208041591 Moscow TASS in English 1816 GMT 1 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[Text] Tallinn August 1 TASS—The Parnu-based citizenship bureau under the Estonian committee began today admitting applications for identification cards of citizens of the Estonian republic.

One should prove with documents his or hers right to be a citizen of the Estonian republic. This right is inherited both on mother's and father's line.

The first 100,000 cards were printed in Toronto, Canada, with the assistance of the central Estonian council.

Chairman of the Estonian committee Tuenne Kjellam said that negotiations on identification cards are being held with the Presidium of the Estonian Supreme Soviet. The latter has shown "a well-wishing approach towards the matter".

Kjellam hopes that these IDs will soon be used when travelling abroad, primarily to those countries which established a visa-free regime with Estonia, the ETA news agency reports.

### Monument to Victims of Fascism Vandalized

*OW0208043691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1610 GMT 1 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A monument on the site of a war-time Nazi concentration camp in the Kyava area, not far from Kohtla-Jaarve in north-east Estonia was vandalised by unknown persons on August 1st, reports the Estonian news agency, "REFAK".

A board that read, "To the prisoners of war who suffered bestial torture at the hands of the fascists in the Kyava concentration camp in 1943" was smashed.

### Republic Refuses To Pay Soviet's Lake Chud Fee

*LD0308222691 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 2130 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Excerpt] The conflict between Estonia and the Soviet Union on industrial fishing in the lake of Chud is still going on. The Estonian minister for environmental protection, Toni Kartlik, was to sign an agreement in Moscow with his Russian colleague on the joint use of the fish resources in the lake. Mr. Kartlik met with the Soviet minister of the fishing industry and got to know that the Soviet Union is asking for a R5 million fee for industrial fishing in the lake of Chud and the Baltic Sea. Estonia refused to pay the fee since it considers the 200-mile sea zone enclosed by the Estonian territory to belong to the Republic of Estonia. [passage omitted]

## Latvia

### Bisers, Interior Minister Pugo Hold Meeting

*LD0308103291 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 0430 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Text] The first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Latvia, Ilmars Bisers, had a meeting this week in Moscow with the USSR minister of

internal affairs, Boris Pugo. It must, however, be added that this took place before the tragic events in Lithuania.

The talk took place at the initiative of Boris Pugo. He has admitted that the situation in which the special task units, the so-called OMON, of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs operate without subjecting themselves to any government or legislation is abnormal. In addition, the methods of the units' operations were not acceptable to him.

Among other things, recovering the property of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Latvia which these OMON units had in their time seized was discussed.

Ilmars Bisers will acquaint the republic's government and Council of Ministers with results of the talk, so that it could be agreed on afterwards which of the proposals expressed by Pugo would be acceptable to Latvia. As we have already reported, internal affairs questions are included on the agenda of the further talks in the consultations between the Republic of Latvia and the USSR, which at the request by the USSR side were repeatedly postponed at the end of July.

### Further on Meeting With Pugo

*OW0508045991 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At the initiative of the Soviet Foreign Ministry B. Pugo met the First Deputy Premier of Latvia Ilmars Bisers in Moscow.

B. Pugo put forward his suggestion for consultation between the Latvian and Soviet Governments. According to the Latvian press-release, the minister acknowledged the unusual situation where the Riga OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] are acting without obeying either government of legislation. He announced that did not accept the action taken by OMON in Riga.

### Central Committee Meeting To Be Held 3 August

*OW0508050091 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A plenary meeting of the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee will be held on August 3 in Riga. On that occasion, the newspaper of Latvian Communists "SOVIETSKAYA LATVIA" has published an address by the Council of Latvian party committees' secretaries to residents of Lativa. Latvian Communists urge them to support the preservation of the Soviet Union and to oppose "the return of land, houses and other property to former owners, as well as the privatization in the interests of black market, etc."

The address also says communists favor granting labor staffs the right to choose a form of ownership at their enterprises themselves. They intend "to stop the destruction of collective and state farms", to disband unconstitutional military units and institutions, to promote the adoption of a law on indexation of incomes and compulsory announcement of officials' salaries, etc.

### Communists Seek To Resolve 'Crisis'

*LD0308135591 Moscow TASS in English 1339 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Zaytsev]

[Text] Riga August 3 TASS—A complex social and economic situation in Latvia has forced communists in the republic to put on the agenda of today's Central Committee plenum the question about the party tasks in its political work among the masses and on a programme to pull the republic out of crisis.

According to First Secretary of the Central Committee Alfred Rubiks, it is necessary to find compromises through joint efforts in order to avoid reaching the brink. The position of the Latvian leadership remains unchanged—"barefoot, but free", free from the Soviet Union.

Working in opposition, the Communist Party of Latvia, however, has been able to create its own economic structures. As a result of privatisation, the Riga-Holding-Latvia Company incorporated some thirty enterprises which belonged to the Union. Their basic assets are worth more than one and a half billion roubles—more than a half of the value of all plants belonging to the Central Soviet Government.

The creation of this association enabled the party to prevent the disintegration of work collectives and save managerial staff.

### Union Treaty, Coalition Government Favored

*LD0308185291 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Text] All the speeches of those taking part in the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee plenum in Riga today were full of alarm over the republic's future and the future of its residents and were seeking ways out of the critical situation that has developed. According to the plenum's participants, the situation can be stabilized and a way out of the crisis can be achieved only on the basis of a socialist path of development of Latvian statehood, with the republic signing the Union treaty and participating in an economic agreement with the USSR, as well as on the basis of unconditional observance of the rights and freedoms of the individual and their priority over the rights of the nation.

It was announced at the plenum that the Latvian Communist Party is in favor of the formation of a coalition

government of public confidence which would include representatives of the republic's main political parties and public movements, and of holding new elections to the Supreme Soviet and local soviets on a pluralist basis.

### Shevardnadze, Foreign Minister Jurkans Confer

*LD0308223491 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 2000 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Latvian Foreign Minister Janis Jurkans and his deputy, Martins Virsis, paid a visit today to Eduard Shevardnadze. They examined mainly three series of questions. First, the situation's [word indistinct] in the Soviet Union. Second, the development of democratic reform movements and possible cooperation between the Democratic Reform Movement and the democratic movements of (?Latvia). And third, the cooperation of Latvian politicians with the Foreign Policy Association led by Shevardnadze.

It is possible that at the end of September or beginning of October Eduard Shevardnadze may visit Latvia. As Janis Jurkans says, this could be an important visit in order to organize the non-Latvian democratic forces.

Here is a little of what Janis Jurkans told me today. Just as Shevardnadze, he believes that there is still a real threat of dictatorship by the conservative forces, and that at present it is very important for the democratic forces to exert a certain pressure on the USSR president in order that the process of democratization in the Soviet Union will not stop. Of course, the independence of the Baltic states, from the viewpoint of both Shevardnadze and Jurkans, absolutely depends on this process of democratization taking place in the Soviet Union.

### Military Council Statement on Border Incident

*OW0508050891 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Friday the newspaper "SOVIETSKAYA LATVIA" published by the Latvian Communist Party printed a statement by the military council of the Baltic Military District dated August 1. The statement expresses protest against what the chairman of Lithuania's Parliament Vytautas Landsbergis told newsmen on July 31 in connection with the tragedy at the Medininkai customs post as a result of which 7 people died.

"The military council of the Baltic Military District declares responsibly that army structures were not involved in the act of banditry", the document states. "We resolutely reject all attempts to lay the responsibility for what happened on the army. We view such actions as another step on the part of the destructive forces which sought to drive a wedge between the army and the people, disrupt the Soviet American talks in Moscow and induce the summiteers to stall resolving the "Baltic issue" as a whole and the Lithuanian question in particular without delay."

Talavs Jundzis, chairman of Latvia's parliamentary commision on defence and internal affairs, told BF's [BALTFAX's] correspondent that in his view the leaders of the Baltic Military District were really uninvolved in the action. According to him, the action was launched by the forces which attempted to stage coups in Lithuania and Latvia last January. Jundzis believes that the same forces have engineered explosions in the Baltic region since last year. According to him, the Communist Party working under different masks is behind all this.

### Cooperation Agreement With CSFR Concluded

*LD0308155391 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1730 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Today in Riga an intergovernmental agreement was concluded between Latvia and the CSFR on trade-economic contacts, on scientific-technical cooperation, and also an intergovernmental protocol was signed on supplying goods and providing services, on the basis of lists of indications and of payments in 1991. The agreement was signed for Czechoslovakia by Rudolf Slansky, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Soviet Union, and for Latvia by Arnis Kalnins, deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers.

In an interview for radio and television Rudolf Slansky noted that political cooperation will be added to economic cooperation. Czechoslovakia plans to conclude similar agreements with other USSR republics and also with Lithuania. Agreements have already been concluded with Russia, the Ukraine, Belorussia, and Estonia.

### Republic Draft Law on State of Emergency

*OW0208055291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 1 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Latvian parliamentary commission on defense and internal affairs discussed a draft law on the status of state of emergency in Latvia.

The draft law says: "The state of emergency is a temporary measure announced by the Latvian Supreme Council on the basis of this law to ensure state independence, order and inviolability of the borders in cases of usurpation of power, military aggression, mass riots, calamities, serious accidents, disasters and epidemics."

Janis Valpeteris, a member of the commission, told BF [BALTFAX] that the draft law also envisages bans on strikes and lay-offs once the state of emergency is imposed. Mr. Valpeteris believes corresponding additions should be introduced into the Latvian Constitution and the Penal Code.

### 'Special Tasks Unit' Fighting Street Crime

*LD0208085991 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 1930 GMT 1 Aug 91*

[Text] During recent weeks the special tasks unit of the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs regularly detects three to four serious crimes a week, providing significant support in combatting crime, said one of the commanders of this unit. This special unit of the militia was formed in May of this year to fight against street crime and to detain dangerous criminals.

The unit is formed following special principles, only the physically and psychologically best prepared militia workers being chosen. As opposed to the specially trained OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] subunit of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the members of the new special unit are loyally disposed toward the Republic of Latvia.

### Republic Customs Post in Daugavpils 'Eliminated'

*LD0208085191 Riga Radio Riga International in Latvian 1930 GMT 1 Aug 91*

[Text] With the participation of the workers of the local law protection establishments and of the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic Procuracy, the customs post of the Republic of Latvia at the Daugavpils railway station has been eliminated. The formal reason of elimination: the rent of the premises is not paid in good time.

## Lithuania

### 'Security Service' Claims Killings Responsibility

*LD0308182191 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA reported today that there has been a telephone call to its editorial office. The call was made by a man who said that the SB [sluzhba bezopasnosti—security service], which protects the interests of the Russian population, has assumed responsibility for the Medininkai action. The editorial office reported the telephone call to the permanent Mission of Lithuania and the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs, giving due weight to the seriousness of the statement, does not rule out the possibility that the SB is the product of the sick imagination of people who would like to be known as ruthless killers. However, it may be that it was the murderers themselves who made the telephone call.

The Lithuanian Permanent Mission has taken this telephone call seriously and has passed the information on to the republic's competent bodies. The permanent mission representatives believe that this is an attempt to transfer responsibility from the real culprits to the allgedly existing security service.

### Vilnius Funeral for Victims Reported

*LD0308170691 Moscow TASS in English 1656 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Kazis Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius August 3 TASS—Residents of the Lithuanian capital and representatives of cities and districts of the republic attended today the funeral of seven policemen and customs workers, who had been brutally shot dead by unidentified persons at the Medininkai customs post on the night of July 31.

A mourning mass was conducted in the Vilnius archcathedral. Policemen, customs officers and staff members of the department of the protection of the region march by, to honour the memory of their fellow workers. The funeral procession moved to the Antakalnis Cemetery, where a mourning rally was held.

The funeral was attended by U.S. Consul in Leningrad Jack Gosnell and representatives of Lithuanian communities from many countries, who are taking part in the world Lithuanian sports games here.

### Landsbergis Delivers Eulogy

*LD0408002491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Eulogy by Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis at the funeral for seven Lithuanian border officials killed in Medininkai on 31 July in Vilnius on 3 August—recorded]

[Text] My dear ones: We have come here, as one family, escorting the children and the brothers of all of us. The bloody stripe, extending across all of Lithuania, from Rainiai to Medininkai, binds us now. The enemy who dealt this blow is not human. They have shot prisoners. This enemy is not the enemy of Lithuania alone. It is the enemy of humanity and small Lithuania, which is defending itself, defending humanity. The perpetrators must receive their own court-martial or else they will be judged, along with many others, a new Nurnberg, a Nurnberg for Bolshevism.

Mothers and widows: I know your question: What comes next? I wish to tell you and everyone else that things will be different in the future. We are already deciding and will continue to do so with your trust. Perhaps we will ask every Lithuanian man who can join, not empty handed, the homeland's service and defense: Do you choose this path of a volunteer? Will you defend your home and your country? However, there must not be any willfull acts involved in this defense. The time is approaching for that day, when we will defend ourselves by all means as a state. We are currently defending ourselves politically; moreover, we are defending ourselves through the common will of all the people of Lithuania. Perhaps it will manifest itself through tens-of-thousands—even more—of unarmed volunteers, empty handed and with unwavering hearts, like those

who managed to defend in January, rising up and coming at night. Perhaps they will come and surround the nest of violators and will utter the one word understood by all, without the benefit of a translation: OMON, get out!

We do not need hatred and revenge; we were strong without it. However, our will must be as one and absolutely united. These deaths obligate us. This blood, which purifies some yet contaminated hearts; this blood, which makes any sort of treason more unthinkable. [sentence as heard] The more time passes—if still feasible, then perhaps it is also [word indistinct] that it was required yet, by our wickedness.

I want to tell you, our beloved fallen ones, that your life and your blood was absorbed by the soil in January. Those of you who lay here and those of you who are now returning your blood—not only in Medininkai, but also here, in Vilnius—to Lithuania's soil, you are making this soil sacred. It becomes a virtue, such as the love for our homeland, for eternity. May you rest in peace.

### Another Guard Dies After 31 Jul Attack

*OW0508040691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Lithuanian Parliament's press office on August 2 at 11:35 Ricardas Rabavicius (born in 1970), who worked at the Lithuanian boader post at Medininkai, died in hospital in Vilnius. During the attack on July 31 he was severe head wounds [as received]. Until his death he lay in a coma. Thus he was the seventh victims of the tragedy at Medininkai.

The condition of the other seriously wounded worker allows hope for his recovery.

### Surviving Guard Taken to Kaunas

*OW0508050791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1900 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] BF's [BALTFAX] correspondent reports from Lithuania that Tomas Sharnas, the only survivor of the 8 border guards of the Medininkai customs post on the border with Belorussia attacked July 31 night has been taken to the republic's neuro-surgical center in Kaunas for further treatment.

Lithuanian Deputy Health Minister Algimantas Blazis told BF that Tomas Sharnas had underwent a sucessful operation in Vilnius. In his opinion, there will be no need in another operation.

Funeral of the 7 killed border guards is to take place on Saturday in Lithuania. The Lithuanian authorities announced Saturday the Day of Mourning.

### U.S. Consul General To Attend Funerals

*OW0508051191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1630 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] It was announced at a briefing at the Lithuanian Parliament on 2nd August that the US Consul General in Leningrad, Jack Gosnell, arrived in Vilnius on Friday and will be the official representative of the United States government at the funerals of the police and customs officers killed at Medininkai on the night of 31st July.

### Landsbergis Demands Explanation

*LD0408100891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[Text] Yesterday Vytautas Landsbergis, Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, sent a telegram to Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, first deputy prime minister of the USSR and head of the Soviet delegation. It reads: On the basis of the previous agreement between the delegations of the Soviet Union and the Republic of Lithuania concerning priority issues in preparation for negotiations, we fail to fully understand the actions of the Soviet Union as far as increasing confidence between the negotiating parties is concerned. Therefore, two questions arise:

Can Lithuania expect that the Soviet Union will stop its attacks on the border control posts of the Republic of Lithuania?

Can Lithuania expect that during the period of the next two weeks the Soviet Union will start the withdrawal the USSR Ministry of Internal Affaris OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] units from the territory of the Republic of Lithuania, and that the occupied buildings of Lithuanian Television and Radio will be returned to the Republic of Lithuania?

We await your reply.

The telegram was signed by the head of the delegation of the Republic of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis.

### Landsbergis Challenges Kryuchkov's Assertion

*LD0208221291 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] In an address on Lithuanian radio today, Vytautas Landsbergis stated: Two of the brethren of Soviet policy—falsehood and violence—are again walking in step with one another.

In addition, he recalled the words President Gorbachev spoke in public two days ago in which he noted that KGB Chief Kryuchkov supposedly had phoned Landsbergis concerning the Medininkai tragedy and had agreed to cooperate. Landsbergis asserted: Kryuchkov did not even attempt to call me; thus, the question is very

simple—is Kryuchkov lying to Gorbachev, or is Gorbachev lying to Bush, in the hearing of the entire world?

As is already known, President Gorbachev attempted to talk about Medininkai during the final news conference of the summit. In the estimation of Landsbergis, the Soviets had already prepared a disinformation campaign prior to the Medininkai events.

Summing up the situation, Landsbergis stated that a great danger is threatening Lithuania, since the most cruel and the most terrible force—red Fascism, organized in a state-like fashion—is going public. He declared: Those of us who are participants in the struggle against Soviet imperialism are encountering sacrifices, although we are cognizant of the fact that the road to freedom cannot be without any sacrifices or strewn with roses. We shall not retreat and freedom and truth will be ours.

### Republic KGB Denies 'Complicity'

*LD0308121791 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1120 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Text] Vilnius, 3 Aug (TASS)—Lithuania's State Security Committee has circulated a statement here in which it categorically rejects accusations of complicity in the murder of the Lithuanian customs officers in Medininkai on 31 July. "The brutal murder of the police and customs officers in Medininkai arouses the angry indignation of all honest people," says the document, which the mass media of the Lithuanian Republic refused to publish. "Staff members of the republic's State Security Committee, together with everyone, are profoundly shocked by this act of banditry that has no justification."

At the same time, Lithuania's KGB points to the circumstance that "some unscrupulous representatives of certain political circles in the republic are seeking to use this tragic event for their own unseemly political ends. While not knowing and not waiting for the discovery of the genuine motives and specific perpetrators of the crime that has been committed, they make accusations without any grounds against the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the KGB, and the Armed Forces of the USSR. This should be regarded as a desire to whip up the already tense situation, distract public attention in the republic from the ever-deteriorating economic situation, and exacerbate relations with the USSR."

On the subject of the statement by the Lithuanian Parliament, the republic's KGB expresses regret that the Republic's Supreme Soviet, while professing the ideas of humanism, democracy, and the construction of a law-governed state, is adopting "documents that are clearly neither morally nor juridically justified and is artificially linking them to the above-mentioned sad event."

"We are obliged to stress once again," the statement says, "that the repeated attempts to present the Committee as an organization illegally and criminally operating in Lithuania are manifestly groundless and unjustified. The question naturally arises as to who benefits from speculating on human tragedies and from laying responsibility for such criminal actions on anyone, without any proof. Such methods have always been characteristic of totalitarian regimes.

### 'More Professional' Officers for Case

*LD0308023791 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Investigations into the killing of six Lithuanian customs officials continue. Internal Affairs Minister Pugo decided to strengthen the operational group functioning in Lithuania by handing it more professional investigations workers and experts. At the same, time USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov expressed the opinion that there was a direct link between the tragedy at Lithuanian customs and the Moscow summit. Belonogov suggested that the organizers of the murder were counting on complicating the talks between the USSR and U.S. Presidents. Tomorrow is a day of mourning in Lithuania.

### Pugo 'Strengthens' Investigative Team

*LD0308101491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] The Baltic News Service reports that on 2 August the Soviet Union's minister of internal affairs, Boris Pugo, convened an executive meeting devoted to the investigation of the crime in Medininkai. It was noted at the meeting that normal, businesslike contacts between the executive group formed by the minister and all Lithuanian law and order bodies, irrespective of their departmental subordination, have been established, and that complete mutual understanding has been reached. It was noted that consultations were taking place between the leaderships of the Lithuanian and the Soviet Union's ministries of internal affairs.

Pugo has decided to strengthen an executive group of the Soviet Union's Ministry of Internal Affairs operating in Lithuania by sending there the best workers of the search and expert services. They must, together with the officials of the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs, investigate the circumstances of the Medininkai crime, bearing in mind the requirements of the law enforcement bodies of the Soviet Union and Lithuania.

On 2 August Pugo met in Moscow with the vice premier of the Republic of Latvia, Ilmars Bisers. The meeting took place on the initiative of the Soviet minister. He acknowledged that the situation was abnormal when the OMON [special purpose militia detachment] was acting without obeying any government and disregarding all laws, reported the press bureau of the Latvian mission in Moscow. Pugo stated that the methods of work by the Riga OMON seemed to him unacceptable.

### Another Guard Dies of Wounds

*LD0208182491 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 1500 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Today from early morning onward the square opposite the Sports Palace was filled with people who came here to pay their last respects to the customs employees who were killed a few days ago.

Yesterday (Paulauskas), the Lithuanian procurator general, reported at a news conference that workers of the procurator's offices of the USSR and Russia have offered their help in investigating this crime.

Citing the republic's Ministry of Health, the Lithuanian Supreme Council Information Bureau has just reported that Rabavicius, a Lithuanian customs employee, died without regaining consciousness at 1135 today. He was 21. He received serious head wounds on 31 July when the customs post in Medininkai was attacked by unknown persons.

### Shooting, Moscow Summit Link Seen

*OW0508052291 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1200 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[From "Diplomatic Panorama": "Lithuania's Shooting Incident: A Pot Shot at Moscow Summit?"—by Pyotr Vasiliev—INTERFAX Headline—Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Aleksandr Belonogov said there was a linkage between the tragic events in Lithuania the killing of six Lithuanian police and customs officers and a bomb explosion outside Lithuania's interior ministry building in Vilnius and the Moscow summit. "It is hard to get rid of the feeling that there must be some connection between the tragic incident and the drive by certain forces to dramatise the situation in the Baltic republics at the time of the Moscow summit", Belonogov told Interfax news agency.

However, he warned against jumping at conclusions before the investigation was over.

"We think the linkage between the three events is apparent. Someone must have wanted them to happen in that sequence", said Feliks Telksnis who works at the legal department of Vilnius-based independent daily, RESPUBLIKA.

His main argument is the murder was premeditated and perpetrated too professionally to be incidental.

Telksnis quoted the leader of the Lithuanian Parliament Vytautas Landsbergis as saying that the incident must have been planned because each time President Gorbachev was having talks in Moscow or leaving abroad, something was bound to happen in Lithuania.

Telksnis spoke of several theories now being checked following the shooting incident in Lithuania.

He quoted again Mr Landsbergis as saying "this must have been the doing of the security services or Mafia, though the Mafia connection could be far fetched".

Telksnis said the investigators were not in possession of clear cut evidence yet. "But all agree that the crime was well planned and perpetrated in cold blood. All the victims were forced to lie face down on the ground and then shot dead", said Feliks Telksnis.

He rejected allegations by Soviet television's newsreel, Vremya, saying the attackers and their victims must have known each other because the customs officers did not resist. However, Lithuanian experts maintain the officers were caught by surprise, forced down on the ground and shot dead in cold blood. Telksnis spoke of bullets found in the victims heads, and the floor and the walls of the building, but none of them higher than 10 cm above the floor.

### Coroner Says Victims Shot in Head

*OW0508034791 Moscow BALTFAX in English 0930 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Procurator General of Lithuania Arturas Paulauskas has told a news conference in Vilnius about the results of the autopsy of the Lithuanian customs officials and policemen killed in Medininkai on Tuesday night.

According to the coroner, all six attack victims died of shot wounds in the head.

### Residents Asked To Help Search for Gunmen

*OW0508111491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1015 GMT 5 Aug 91*

[Text] The Lithuanian General Prosecutor's Office has issued an appeal to residents of Lithuania for help in search for those involved in last weeks' attack on the Medininkai border post on the frontier with Belorussia.

As BF [BALTFAX] reported earlier, during the attack seven customs officers have been killed. One border guard, Tomas Sharnas, though heavily wounded, managed to survive. Now he undergoes a treatment in the republic's neuro-surgical center in Kaunas. An American neuro-surgeon has arrived there to help cure him.

The Lithuanian General Prosecutor's Office reports that at 3 a.m. July 31 (supposed time of the attack) several "Zhiguli" automobiles, possibly, carrying attackers, were noticed near the Medininkai border post. The Lithuanian General Prosecutor's Office urges those who have seen the automobiles to get in touch with it or the police.

The Lithuanian authorities have established a reward of 500,000 rubles for information which would help identify criminals.

### Deputies Meet, Discuss 31 July Events

*LD0208143991 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] As reported yesterday, the recess at the extraordinary session of the Lithuanian Supreme Council will last until 22 August. In spite of this, a meeting of the deputies took place today. Views were exchanged on the situation in Lithuania. The deputies listened to information by Audrius Butkevicius, general director of the country's Defense Department.

At this morning's briefing, Rita Dapkute, director of the information bureau of the Supreme Council, told the journalists that a vigil was being organized in Washington at the Lithuanian mission to honor the memory of the Medininkai victims. The action will start at 1700 Washington time and will last the whole day.

Jack Gosnell, U.S. Consul General in Leningrad, is arriving in Lithuania. He originally planned to come in two weeks, but the tragedy of 31 July changed his plans. He will take part in the funeral for the victims.

Rita Dapkute also acquainted the journalists with a statement by the Military Council of the Baltic Military District, published yesterday. It says that the district's military council states that the army did not take part in the action. It adds: "We demand that the terrorist act be investigated as soon as possible and objectively, and the perpetrators punished to the full extent of Soviet laws."

There were no comments about this statemnent at the briefing.

Replying to a question on the connection between the Medininkai tragedy and the resignation of Marijonas Misiukonis, Rita Dapkute noted that Marijonas Misiukonis tended his resignation on 30 July, before the tragedy, so one should not see any connection here.

### Parliament Appeal To Defend Independence

*LD0208230491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Our patience cannot be interminable; even now we are at a loss for words with which to console the dear ones of those who were murdered—this is stated in the Parliament's extraordinary appeal to the Lithuanian people. It notes, among other things:

The homeland is in danger; therefore, let us lay aside our disputes and let us feel that we have been summoned to defend Lithuania's independence.

We appeal, once more, to those people of Lithuania who have been led astray to renounce their cooperation with the KGB, the OMON [special purpose militia detachment], and other structures of occupation coercion.

Let us be solicitous of our neighbor during the period of unavoidable hardships. Let us organize mutual assistance groups and let us build safer customs posts on Lithuania's borders.

Let us assist Lithuania's officials in combating state and criminal wrongdoers.

### 'Stricter' Border Controls Introduced

*LD0308190891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] In the republican government: In view of the provocations which took place recently at the customs posts, according to decree No.493B of 31 July a stricter border control regime is introduced.

The Border Protection Service of the Country's Defense Department is instructed, in accordance with the provisional border protection service law of the Republic of Lithuania, to ensure the inspection and registration of the documents of persons and means of transport.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs is instructed to form for the protection of the customs posts reinforced mobile groups, recruiting them on the principle of voluntariness from the best police officials. The Ministry of Internal Affairs must supply police officials in these groups with weapons, protection, communications, and other means which are essential for work under special conditions.

Police officials in the reinforced mobile groups, on the decision of the General Commissar of the Police Department at the Ministry of Internal Affairs, can be paid increased monthly salaries. Such increased payments, on the decision of the heads of the Country's Defense Department or the Customs Department may be paid to individual officials of these departments discharging duties under especially dangerous conditions.

The Ministry of Construction and Urbanistics and the Ministry of Power Engineering, in coordination with the Country's Defense Department and the Customs Department, are instructed to carry out the fencing in and lighting of the territories of the border and customs posts, and the construction of essential objects.

The Ministry of Communications is instructed [words indistinct] of the necessary communication equipment and ensure reliable communication.

This decree is valid until a seperate decision of the government of the Republic of Lithuania is passed.

### TASS Cites Appeals From Parliament

*LD0308171391 Moscow TASS in English 1633 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Text] Vilnius August 3 TASS—The Lithuanian press published today the "appeal to all democratic countries of the world on the withdrawal of the Soviet Union's repressive structures from Lithuania," which was adopted by the republican Parliament on Friday. It

denounced armed attacks on frontier guards, customs and police officers, staged, according to the appeal, by the "Soviet Union's repressive structures."

The Lithuanian Parliament described those actions as the "desire to disrupt the process of a peaceful consolidation of Lithuania's independence and to provoke a conflict in Lithuania." The republican Parliament regards the assassination of customs officers and policemen at the Medininkai post on July 31 as the "escalation" of those actions.

The Lithuanian Parliament urged "all democratic states of the world" to take steps without delay in order to achieve the "immediate withdrawal from Lithuanian territory of the State Security Committee (KGB) and all other repressive structures of the Soviet Union, thus eliminating the threat to peace and the security of people."

The Lithuanian Parliament also adopted the "appeal to countries—participants in the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE)". It urges to use the CSCE mechanism envisaged for emergency situations, in order to "normalise relations between Lithuania and the USSR," to send a familiarisation mission within the CSCE framework and to "consider a permissibility" of holding in Moscow a conference on human dimension within the framework of the Conference for security and cooperation in Europe.

At the same time, the Lithuanian Security Committee circulated a statement here, which categorically rejected accusations of complicity in the murder of Lithuanian customs workers in Medininkai on July 31.

"The brutal murder of Lithuanian customs workers and policemen in Medininkai evokes strong indignation of all honest people. Workers of the republican Security Committee, together with all other citizens, are staggered by this act of banditism, which cannot be justified in any way," says the document which the Lithuanian mass media refused to publish.

### Official on Murder Investigation

*LD0308194391 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Excerpt] Funeral ceremonies for the customs officers murdered on the night of Tuesday-Wednesday are to take place today in Lithuania. Our correspondent, Anton Grishin, interviewed Lionginas Vasiliauskas, who works for the Lithuanian permanent representation in Moscow.

[Begin Vasiliauskas recording] It is difficult to say whether this is a crime or political murder, but the investigation that has been carried out by the procuracy of Lithuanian Internal Affairs Ministry indicates that it does not look like a criminal act of the mafia, because this was organized beforehand and carried out by people who, by their cruelty and professionalism, appear to have been specially trained for such actions. And there had been no incidents that could have aroused the hatred of the mafia toward the existence of this post.

The USSR Internal Affairs Ministry is providing help. USSR KGB personnel have also joined in this work, although they do not yet show much action. But the car in which one of the customs officers had arrived—and which, it seems, was used by those who committed the crime to flee the customs post—has been found about two kilometers away from the scene of the crime.

It was established that the victims had indeed been all laid on the floor and shot point blank, because the bullet holes found were not higher than 10 cm from the floor. In other words, there was no armed resistance whatsoever. Thank God one of the lads who was there is still alive. I spoke yesterday with Lithuania's minister of health, who said that they are doing everything to save his life—because he is practically the only living witness of this crime. He is being kept under constant guard. [passage omitted] [end recording]

### Council Seeks 'Real Criminals'

*LD0508030991 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] The Lithuanian Supreme Soviet announced that comparing the customs incidents with the events in the Transcaucasus and tracing them to the conflict in Belorussia are an attempt to cover for the real criminals. The Lithuanian KGB denied involvement in the Medininkai murders and is mounting an investigation into the incident. A group of Russian nationalists claimed responsibility for the murders. Vytautas Landsbergis wrote the USSR Council of Ministers, expressing the hope that the special purpose militia detachment's withdrawal from Lithuania will start in the next two weeks.

### Procuracy Issues Witnesses Appeal

*LD0508032791 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[Appeal by the Lithuanian General Procuracy—read by announcer]

[Text] At approximately 0340 on 31 July 1991, two cars—a light colored Vaz, number 2105, without state license numbers; and a green Vaz, number 2106, with state license numbers of the Kaliningrad region—passed the Medininkai control post and turned toward Degaline.

At about 0500, two cars—a red Vaz, number 2105 or 2107; and a dark colored Vaz, number 2106—sped from the Medininkai control post toward Vilnius.

At about 0600, two drivers—their cars: Zhil 130V, and we believe the driver was a Siauliai resident; and

Moskvich 412—telephoned from the Medininkai gasoline pump area, summoning medical assistance for the victims.

At approximately 0620, a woman answered the phone at the Medininkai control post and confirmed that there were also some injured people there.

We request these and other individuals who know something about the aforementioned vehicles and individuals, as well as all those who passed the Medininkai control post during the night, to phone the Republic of Lithuania's General Procuracy at 610537 or call the nearest police commissariat.

### Slain Republic Border Guards Buried

*OW0508052391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The funeral of the seven Lithuania border guards killed at the Medininkai customs post on the border with Belorussia July 30 night takes place today in Vilnius.

The Presidium of the Lithuanian Supreme Council has announced August 3 the Day of Mourning.

From early morning residents of Vilnius have been paying tribute to the victims. Then the coffins were established at the Cathedral Square where a service for the dead is to be held. After that the procession will head for a cemetery.

### Appeal To UN, Amnesty International

*OW0508070191 Moscow BALTFAX in English 0930 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Prime-Minister of Lithuania Vagnorius has appealed to the UN Human Rights Commission, the UN Human Rights Committee and Amnesty International to form special commissions to investigate the violation of human rights in Lithuania.

The Prime-Minister places the responsibility for systematic violations on the Soviet Army and task forces.

The appeals stress the special danger among "acts of political terrorism" in Lithuania the killing of six customs officials and policemen at Medininkai checkpoint. They stress that it was a carefully planned and organized crime.

The appeal to the UN Human Rights Committee also asks "to take necessary steps for the observation of the international covenant on civil and political rights in Lithuania."

### Interior Minister Orders Investigation

*OW0508070491 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1400 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On August 2, the Soviet Minister of Internal Affairs Boris Pugo called a functional meeting devoted to the investigation of the crime committed on 31 July at the Lithuanian customs point at Medininkai on the border with Belorussia which resulted in the deaths of 6 people.

According to "BALTFAX" the press department of the Lithuanian Parliament announced that on August 2 a seventh died. He had been seriously wounded in the attack.

During the meeting, it was pointed out that "normal working relations and completely cooperation" had been established between the working groups, set up by a presidential decree, and all the Lithuanian law-enforcing organs regardless of which department they were answerable to. Practical discussions are also taking place between the Lithuanian leadership and the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

The Foreign Ministry decided to strengthen their operational forces in Lithuania and to send in more professionally trained investigating forces and special services. Their task will be to make a thorough investigation into the tragic events at Medininkai in accordance with the demands of the central and local law-enforcing organs.

### Landsbergis Telegram to Doguzhiyev Reported

*LD0408160291 Moscow TASS in English 1535 GMT 04 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Kazys Uscila]

[Text] Vilnius August 4 TASS—Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis today sent a telegram to Soviet First Deputy Prime Minister Vitaliy Doguzhiyev, who heads the USSR delegation at talks with the Lithuanian delegation. In the telegram, Landsbergis draws attention to the need to withdraw the Soviet Interior Ministry's Special Troops (OMON) [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] from the Lithuanian Republic.

The telegram was sent one day after seven policemen and customs officers of Lithuania, who were murdered at a customs post, were buried and reflects views on this tragedy that are commonly held in the republic. Although competent law enforcement agencies, which were charged to investigate the case, have not yet made a final conclusion regarding the culprits of what had happened, several Lithuanian publications and politicians try to put the blame for the killings on the Soviet Army, the KGB and the USSR Interior Ministry's OMON troops.

### More on Telegram to Doguzhiyev

*OW0508105291 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1015 GMT 5 Aug 91*

[Text] Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis has sent a telegram to head of the Soviet delegation for talks with Lithuania, USSR Vice-Premier Vitaliy Doguzhiyev.

The Lithuanian leader posed two questions to Mr. Doguzhiyev:

—Is there any hope for Lithuania that the Soviet Union will stop attacks on its customs posts?

—Is there any hope for Lithuania that within the next two weeks the USSR will begin withdrawing USSR Interior Ministry's OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] special units from Lithuania and return the TV and Radio Center buildings captured by the military in January, 1991?

### Parliament Adopts Six Documents

*OW0508064691 Moscow BALTFAX in English 0930 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The extraordinary session of the Lithuanian Parliament that opened on Thursday has adopted six documents: an appeal to the Parliaments of Iceland and Denmark, an appeal to member-countries of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, an appeal to all democratic countries of the world on the withdrawal of repressive USSR structures from Lithuania, a protest statement, an appeal to the citizens of Lithuania and an appeal to staff members of the USSR KGB.

The first three documents describe the attack on the Lithuanian customs checkpoint in Medininkai earlier this week in which 6 men were killed as an aggression against Lithuania on the part of the USSR. Among other things they call for demanding that the USSR withdraw units of the Soviet Army, KGB and black berets from Lithuania.

The protest statement turns down the attempt to present the tragedy in Medininkai as a consequence of a conflict between Lithuania and Byelorussia. It stresses that this misinformation has the purpose of spoiling relations between the two republics.

The appeal to the citizens of Lithuania says: "Our country is in danger. Let us leave aside everything that divides us and let us struggle for the independence of Lithuania together."

The last document draws attention to the fact that those who still work for the KGB "are officially responsible for actions directed against the indepencence of Lithuania and its citizens".

### Croatia Recognizes Republic's Independence

*LD0308213691 Moscow TASS in English 2122 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[by TASS correspondent Boris Zubko]

[Text] Belgrade August 4 TASS—The Sabor, Croatian Parliament, which held a session in Zagreb on Saturday, decided to recognise the Republic of Lithuania as an independent and sovereign state and to develop comprehensive cooperation with it.

In this connection Sabor Chairman Zarko Domljan was instructed to send a telegram to the head of the Lithuanian Parliament, TANJUG reports.

Domljan pointed out that previously the Lithuanian Parliament had adopted a resolution on recognising the independence and sovereignty of Croatia.

### CSFR Economic Agreement Signed

*LD0308205591 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Excerpts] Lithuanian Supreme Council Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis today received a delegation of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic led by the Czechoslovak ambassador to Moscow Rudolf Slansky.

The delegation arrived in Vilnius to sign an intergovernmental economic agreement between the Republic of Lithuania and the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

Questions of bilateral economic cooperation were discussed during the conversation and opinions were exchanged concerning cultural and humanitarian relations.

Rudolf Slansky offered his condolences on the tragic deaths of Lithuanian border and customs officials. [passage omitted]

The agreement was signed by Lithuanian Deputy Prime Minister Vytautas Pakalniskis and Rudolf Lansky.

### Republic Parliament Appeal To Defend Independence

*LD0208230491 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Our patience cannot be interminable; even now we are at a loss for words with which to console the dear ones of those who were murdered—this is stated in the Parliament's extraordinary appeal to the Lithuanian people. It notes, among other things:

The homeland is in danger; therefore, let us lay aside our disputes and let us feel that we have been summoned to defend Lithuania's independence.

We appeal, once more, to those people of Lithuania who have been led astray to renounce their cooperation with

the KGB, the OMON [special purpose militia detachment], and other structures of occupation coercion.

Let us be solicitous of our neighbor during the period of unavoidable hardships. Let us organize mutual assistance groups and let us build safer customs posts on Lithuania's borders.

Let us assist Lithuania's officials in combating state and criminal wrongdoers.

### Resolution Urges Lithuanians To Quit Union KGB

*LD0308195891 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] A [Supreme Council] resolution was adopted yesterday on perpetuating the memory of KGB victims and appealing to individuals who to date are serving the USSR KGB. The resolution tasks the Vilnius City Council and administration to perpetuate the memory of KGB victims by affixing a memorial plaque with appropriate inscription to the wall of the KGB headquarters building in Lithuania, which is located in central Vilnius.

A demand is also set forth before the USSR KGB to turn over to the Lithuanian Republic's State Archives all material encompassing the activities of the said organization in connection with Lithuania during the period 1940-1990.

Individuals serving the KGB are reminded that the KGB contributed to the 1940 annexation of Lithuania, the destruction of members of its government, and to the repression of hundreds of thousands of innocent people. Moreover, on 13 January of this year it also functioned as the principal shock force that killed civilians.

The Supreme Council calls the attention of all individuals serving in the KGB to the fact that legal responsibility is projected for all those actions aimed against the State of Lithuania and its people; and thus it urgently exhorts all individuals serving in the USSR KGB in Lithuania to withdraw from this illegal institution without delay.

### OMON Subunit Reinstates Party Organization

*PM0208092191 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Jul 91 First Edition p 2*

[Correspondent Yu. Stroganov report: "Primary Organization Restored"]

[Text] Vilnius—A primary party organization of Communists has been restored in a Lithuanian OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] subunit.

This decision was taken at an organizational party meeting. The party organization was disbanded in 1990 on the order of M. Misiukonis, who was Lithuanian internal affairs minister at the time. The request by a number of OMON workers to reinstate them to the ranks of the Lithuanian Communist Party has been satisfied.

## Democratic Party of Communists Congress Opens

*LD0208153691 Moscow TASS in English 1246 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Moscow August 2 TASS—Russian Vice President Aleksandr Rutskoy, founder of the new Democratic Party of Russian Communists, said today his movement renounces the Russian Communist Party.

Speaking at the new party's founding conference, Rutskoy stressed that the Soviet Communist Party retains a basis to effectively influence society.

The hastily formed Russian Communist Party led by Ivan Polozkov "has been unable to grasp new social, economic and political realities", he said.

Many party apparatchiks took "an openly undemocratic stance, sabotaging new economic methods, pluralism and glasnost," he said.

Russian Communist Party leaders have become hostages to the old idea—to retain power irrespective of the type of a state and economic system. The party's attempt to return to old ways hampers reforms in Soviet society, he said.

The conference, attended by some 800 people, is expected to end on Saturday. Delegates plan to discuss holding the first party congress, party policy, draft rules and elect a leadership.

The forum is attended by representatives of the newly-founded Movement for Democratic Reforms.

The creation of a new communist party is a natural process, Aleksandr Yakovlev, one of the founders of the movement for democratic reforms, said.

This is a normal development dictated by reforms. "It is impossible to live with new transformation in old structures," Yakovlev told reporters.

The situation in the Soviet Communist Party is "very complex", former Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze said.

The party is likely to split at its next congress, he predicted.

## Rutskoy Gives Address

*PM0408190791 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 3 Aug 91 p 1*

[Report by Vyacheslav Dolganov, Sergey Nagayev, and Vladimir Sheleketov: "Communists and Democracy? Well, Even This Is Perfectly Possible"]

[Text] "The epoch which has changed the speed and direction of history's movement demands that we be decisive and gives us the opportunity to be so. We are crossing our Rubicon—we are laying the foundations of a new political party while preserving the living soul of like-minded people who love the motherland and who are ready to serve it sincerely."

These were the first words of the report addressed to members of the constituent conference of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia by A.V. Rutskoy, vice president of our republic and leader of the parliamentary faction "Communists for Democracy" and of the "Civil Accord" movement.

This event attracted tremendous attention. Suffice it to say that approximately as many correspondents of the Soviet and foreign mass media alone were accredited here as at the Congresses of Russian People's Deputies. Guests whose political activity is today, without exaggeration, at the center of the whole country's attention also came. In particular, E.A. Shevardnadze and A.N. Yakovlev, cochairmen of the "Democratic Reforms Movement."

After analyzing the situation which has taken shape in the CPSU, A.V. Rutskoy emphasized: The Communist Party and its apparatus are again seeking to control all life unrepentantly and consider themselves entirely sinless before the people. This was why the Russian Communist Party headed by Polozkov was formed in an offhand way. It has proved incapable of comprehending the new socioeconomic and political realities. And the people realized this, denying it their support in the all-Russian presidential election. They also realized that the sole reason for the Communist Party's battle with the new people's power is its desire to return to the party apparatus the former degree of sovereignty, under which it had led a comfortable life.

It would probably be possible to cite the report in full—it contained so many fresh thoughts and accurate political assessments of the situation that practically all our colleagues agreed on one thing: This was probably the first time in CPSU history that such substantive (and, most importantly, human) words have been heard from a party leader over the past several decades. However, it is not a matter of this alone. What are the new party's statutory and program aims? To what is it geared in its activity? How does it intend to build relations with "traditional" Communists?

We are not creating our Democratic Party of Communists of Russia aside from the Communist movement, A.V. Rutskoy said as though in reply to these questions. Moreover, we consider ourselves a part of the CPSU and do not disavow its history and mistakes. We see it as the sacred duty of rank-and-file Communists, in whom conscience and honor have not yet entirely died, to repent and to ask the people's forgiveness for the extermination of the best people, for the unbelief, disappointment, and despair which reign in society. The country's spiritual revival is impossible without consciousness of individual and collective guilt, without the cleansing and

repentance of the party in whose name all deeds on the country's territory were accomplished over a period of more than 70 years.

We ask the people, A.V. Rutskoy said, to find within themselves the strength to overcome the inertia of mistrust in us. This repentance is dictated by a sense of most profound responsibility and by the desire to promote the country's transformation by means of deeds. And our first act is to renounce the Russian Communist Party. The ideas of that party's theoreticians about the future reflect the level of their social imagination—it is the same old barracks. Their theory, which aspires to realism, is becoming a new kind of utopian idealism, for, while continuing to preach the principle of the class struggle, the strategy and tactics of the Russian Communist Party do not acknowledge the nature of man and implant confrontation in society.

The creators of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia see it, above all, as a parliamentary-type party. Its task is to divest itself of the potentially criminal element and to remove from the leadership those who are incompetent, talentless, cynical, and rancorous and all who have attained the ranks of the present Communist Party elite not on their own abilities and for whom power is an instrument to degrade others and to derive personal benefit. Precisely this is why the new party does not fear the Russian presidential decree on departyization, around which the Russian Communist Party is fueling passions.

The work of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia will be built on a strictly voluntary basis and in accordance with the principles expounded in the CPSU's new draft. That is, each party member himself chooses the degree of membership and the forms of participation in its work and himself determines his attitude to the question of material support for the party.

The main speaker did not hide the fact that Communist-Democrats will struggle for power. This is, in principle, characteristic of any foreign parliamentary-type party. However, this struggle will be waged on the plane of direct work with people and of winning them over with specific actions, not with promises of a "bright future." Candidates should be selected for organs of power and trained in such a way that people are not simply won over by the professionalism, competence, abilities, humanity, and sincerity of their future elected representatives. No, these qualities must be guarantors of their efficient service to duty and people.

The main speaker made a very positive assessment of M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum. It leaves no doubts that the general secretary himself is inclined toward a decisive break with obsolete ideological dogmas and stereotypes and is ready to take the path of reforms. At the same time, however, A.V. Rutskoy also reproached him: There are too many dense fundamentalists in Mikhail Sergeyevich's entourage who are incapable of accepting anything new. These are oblast party committee and Central Committee secretaries, the Central Committee and Central Control Commission apparatus at the Union and Russian levels, and, chiefly, the figure closest to Gorbachev—Ivashko. The people would understand the country's president better and forgive him a great deal if he parted from his sluggish entourage.

The main speaker spoke with great alarm about local party and economic clans in Russia which cling to their posts and try to sabotage B.N. Yeltsin's decisions and to compromise the Russian president. The new party intends to combat them by supporting the efforts of the Russian Parliament and the head of the supreme executive power.

It is proposed to have primary organizations of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia in residential districts, settlements, villages, and electoral districts. Then rayon, city, oblast, and kray levels. Affiliated unions of party members might even be set up in sectors and spheres of activity. The primary organizations' top organ will be the congress, as well as the board and the control commission, which have equal rights. It will be possible to join the party from the age of 16. Political-cultural centers and clubs, where people may follow up any interests—ranging from diverse forms of leisure and studies to political debates and simply human contact—may become places of concentration and activity of the new party organizations.

Secretaries at all levels must be elected by direct secret ballot, and the party apparatus must be small and highly professional. Its tasks include assisting organs of power locally.

In conclusion A.V. Rutskoy urged all who are prepared to work for the common good of Russia to join the party (he described it as an organization of resolute democratic action).

V.V. Perfilyev, member of the organizing committee, delivered the report on convening the first congress of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia. His colleagues G.G. Vodolazov, V.S. Lipitskiy, and V.M. Adrov delivered companion reports on the program guidelines and the draft statutes.

The conference will continue its work today.

### Defends Departyization

*OW0508013791 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Democratic party of Russian Communists belonging to the CPSU opened its founding conference at Moscow's Cinema House on Friday. Russia's Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy, chairman of the organizing committee of the movement "Civic Accord", delivered a report.

He pointed out that the criticism of the Russian President's decree on departyization by the leaders of the Russian Communist party who claim that it was issued without preliminary consultations with the people is untenable. Sociological research conducted last March indicated that only 22% of respondents were in favor of preserving party structures at plants and offices, A. Rutskoy said. As for departification, 44% of factory workers, 33% of peasants, 55% of engineers and technicians, 65% of servicemen and the like called for it.

On Thursay, A. Rutskoy told those present, he was requested by a secretary of the Russian Communist Party central committee who preferred to be anonymous to refrain from creating an alternative party at Friday's conference and confine its work to endeavors to form the corresponding movement. The newly-created party, said A. Rutskov, will remain in the framework of the CPSU "as long as there is hope that the CPSU will embark on the road of political reforms after all".

A. Rutskoy outlined the shape of the party the conference was creating. In between its congresses it will be run by its board and inspection commission working on the basis of equity.

The party can be joined by people aged 16 and older. Party work will be monitored by neighborhood centers and clubs. The framework of party structures will be determined by party members. 70-80% of membership dues will remain at the disposal of party locals. The present founding conference is expected to adopt party rules to enable the newly formed party to get registered at the ministry of justice of the Russian Federation at once.

The new party is to hold its first congress on October or early November and elect at it delegates to the upcoming special congress of the CPSU.

The cochairmen of the Movement for Democratic Reforms Edward Shevardnadze and Aleksandr Yakovlev are attending the founding conference as guests.

### Explains Aims of Party

*LD0308163791 Moscow Central Television First Program Network in Russian 0530 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Correspondent L. Lashchenko report; from the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] We are presently in Cinema House where an all-Russian conference of the Communists for Democracy internal party movement is at work. The discussion is under way on its program and draft rules. Rutskoy's report, "A New Party for Russia's New Course," produced a stormy debate. The first thing is that we renounce the Russian Communist Party. We are not setting up our own democratic party aside from the Communist movement. We regard ourselves as part of the CPSU, Rutskoy stressed. The task of the new party is to remove the untalented and cynical people from leadership for whom power is an instrument to degrade others. [video shows delegates at meeting; Rutskoy at rostrum delivering report; correspondent interviewing Rutskoy]

Aleksandr Vladimirovich, is it now possible to say that a party of Russian democratic communists has come into being as part of the CPSU?

[A. Rutskoy, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Vice President] Well, it has not yet come into being. We have not yet voted on this matter. It is apparent from the speeches and the discussion of the report that the people attending this conference—delegates and invited guests—share a single position, that is, support for the formation of a democratic party of Russian communists. The main task is the struggle to create a situation in society in which a person becomes an individual and is able to express himself as an individual whoever he is.

### Departyization Approved

*LD0308182691 Moscow TASS in English 1807 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandras Budris]

[Text] Moscow August 3 TASS—The creation of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia within the framework of the Soviet Communist Party has been announced by participants in the initiative constituent conference of the party, which ended here today. Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy, 44, leader of the Communists for Democracy Movement, was elected chairman of the provisional council for preparing the first party congress.

Rutskoy said at a news conference today that they had already received 7,230 applications for membership. He believes that this gives the right to register it at the republican Ministry of Justice. According to Rutskoy, a total membership of the new party will be about five million.

Rutskoy stressed that he was not going to combine the posts of Russian vice-president and the leader of the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia. He said that he intended to be chairman of the provisional council until the first party congress, scheduled for next October.

A resolution adopted by the conference says that the party is a "voluntary public-political association that acts within the framework of the law, using parliamentary methods, that takes part in the implementation of democratic reforms aimed at enhancing wellbeing, social protection, rights and freedoms of man, the creation of a market-oriented economy, civilian society and a law-governed state." The new party intends to cooperate with all public forces that support democratic transformations.

Rutskoy said that it was necessary to settle the matters, dealing with membership in the party, with the steering bodies of the Soviet Communist Party. With this in view

he is going to meet heads of departments of the CPSU Central Committee and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev before the end of the next week. If the Democratic Party of Communists of Russia is not recognised, its members may withdraw from the Soviet Communist Party, Rutskoy said.

He stressed that his party would claim part of the CPSU property.

It was announced at the news conference that the constituent conference was attended by 800 delegates from all republics and regions of the Russian Federation.

The resolution, adopted by the conference, approved the departyization decree of the Russian president and demanded the creation of a commission to control the preservation and availability of archives of the Soviet Communist Party. The Democratic Party of Communists of Russia intends to work for the return of party membership cards to those communists who withdrew from the party because they disagreed with the policy, pursued by the leadership of the Russian Communist Party.

The draft party rules say that it can be joined by people over 16 years of age. The party plans to create its primary organisations according to the territorial and professional principles.

### Conference Ends, Results Reviewed

*OW0508034991 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1320 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The founding conference of the Democratic Party of Russian Communists (DPRC) ended in Moscow on Saturday. It adopted party rules, formed its inspection commission and set up a provisional council to make preparations for holding the 1st party congress in October. The 225-member council is led by Russia's vice president Aleksandr Rutskoy.

According to the final resolution, the DPRC was formed because the reactionary policy of those who lead the Russian Communist Party is unacceptable to many communists.

The resolution expresses support for Russia's lawful authorities, proclaims as timely the Russian President's decree on departyization, declares that the DPRC joins the movement "Civic Accord" as a collective member and announces support for the Movement for Democratic Reforms.

The resolution recognizes the historical guilt of the CPSU toward the Soviet people.

In his concluding statement the chairman of the DPRC's provisional council Aleksandr Rutskoy said that he will necessarily meet with Mikhail Gorbachev to demand that the CPSU recognize the DPRC. If such recognition is denied, the DPRC will issue its own membership cards, said Rutskoy.

Sergey Sheboldayev, member of the provisional council, said that by the time the conference opened its organizing committee had received some 8000 requests for joining the DPRC.

### Emergence of 'Communists for Democracy' Derided

*PM0408135991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 30 Jul 91 First Edition p 1*

[N. Garifullina "Pertinent Rejoinder": "'Please Confirm'"]

[Text] Democrat deputies greeted the emergence of a new faction, "Communists for Democracy," at the Third Extraordinary Congress of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] People's Deputies with a standing ovation. It was applauded with particular warmth and, I would say, assiduity by the Democrats of Russia, who differ from their more moderate colleagues in their fierce anticommunist views. The fact that the new faction was their long-awaited and longed-for baby was clear from the very outset, and subsequent events only confirmed it.

From the time of the newborn's first scream the entire democratic press, which cannot stand the whiff of Communists or socialism, has been crooning at it and been free with its press, television, and radio channels. And what about the press! Russia's topmost authorities are acting as godfathers, giving the "wee bairn" a headquarters in the White House at No. 2 Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment [RSFSR Supreme Soviet building]. Since the eminent sponsors blessing it want to kill a few birds with one stone—you pick up an appetite when eating!—in May the "Communists for Democracy" faction loudly stated its intention to set up the "Civil Accord" movement, in July joined Shevardnadze's and Yakovlev's Movement of Democratic Reform, and immediately announced its intention of setting up a Democratic Party of Russian Communists. Their founder, Russian Vice President A.V. Rutskoy, spoke recently at a press conference about the aims and tasks of the future party and movement: "Needless to say, the most important thing is to uphold the interests of the republic. The republic! And back the Supreme Soviet, the Russian president, and the Russian Government...."

There is no dout that Colonel Rutskoy's faction represents a kind of Trojan Horse for the Russian Communist Party. But the logical question does arise—won't this organization be part of state structures? There are grounds for asking this question.

As is well known, the opening of the constituent conference of the Democratic Party of Russian Communists is scheduled for 2 August. Its organizers are now trying to create the impression that they supposedly have the

extensive support of the republic's Communists. However, our correspondents report from the localities that the idea of convening a constituent conference has not aroused enthusiasm within CPSU party organizations. In Mordovia, for instance, just 20 supporters for the "Communists for Democracy" movement have been mustered; they elected seven delegates to the constituent conference, three being people's deputies, N.P. Makarkin, D.D. Martynov, and N.P. Medvedev.

Six of this movement's 20 supporters gathered in Kiev's House of Creative Unions have been sent to the conference. Eight devotees of the movement were found in Astrakhan, five of whom are being sent to the conference.

The people of Sakhalin set a kind of record in terms of representation norms: Three people headed by the organizer, I.V. Andreyev, consultant at the oblast institute for improving teachers' qualifications, gathered and, after brief reflection, they all declared themselves delegates to the constituent conference.

As we can see, there aren't many of them. In order to give the event the semblance of being a mass event, the apparatus of the state public organization, the "Revival" ["Vozrozhdeniye"] Russian Social Development Fund, is being enlisted in the work to set up "Rutskoy's party"—A.V. Rutskoy is also the president of "Revival."

A cable marked "government business" was recently sent around cities and villages:

"To the chairman of the city soviet....

"You are invited to a meeting of the chairmen and aktivs of city soviets 2-4 August. Arrive 31 July-1 August. Please cable to confirm your attendance. Provide a list of participants.

"Telephone inquiries: 284-36-40, 205-69-62.

"[Signed] V.I. Ikonnikov, deputy chairman of the Committee for Work With Soviets and representative of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Union of Russian Cities."

The fact that V. Ikonnikov is a member of the organizational committee setting up the democratic Communist Party must be added to this paraphernalia. It is quite likely that it is the groups formed for the "meeting" that will take part in the constituent conference of Rutskoy's Democratic Party. Well, is attendance ensured and funded at government and Supreme Soviet level? Or have our leaders decided to stop at nothing in their desire to split the Russian Communist Party and create a pocket party?

## No 'Legal Basis' Found To Postpone Departyization

*LD0308090391 Moscow All-Union Radio Mayak Network in Russian 0700 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Text] The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president's decree on stopping the activities of the organizational structures and mass public movements in state bodies, organizations, and enterprises in Russia is to come into force tomorrow. Despite the proposal by the Constitutional Supervision Committee that the introduction of the decree be postponed, the Russian president has been unable to find any legal basis for changing the time of its coming into force.

## Yeltsin Adviser Shakhray Comments

*LD0308222291 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Tomorrow Yeltsin's decree on departyization comes into force. What will the mechanism of its implementation be? Our correspondent put this question to Sergey Shakhray, state counselor to the president of Russia on legal policies.

[Shakhray] In my opinion the mechanism of its implementation should be gentle and gradual and will mean that the management of enterprises, of state enterprises, state institutions, and ministries will be forced to put to party committees, bureaus, and so forth the question of the need for them to put an end to their activity and they will set some sort of time limit.

Once this time limit has expired, the management of these enterprises, the management of the administration will have to take more specific measures: decide what happens to their premises, what happens to the passes, if it is a closed enterprise, and so forth. Then the Procuracy of the Russian Federation and bodies of justice will have to keep this process under observation and inform the procurator general of the Russian Federation and inform the bodies with which the president has entrusted with monitoring the decrees where the decree is not being implemented, make submissions about it, and issue reminders of the need for the law to be observed rigorously. Measures of state compulsion could be applied subsequently only to malicious saboteurs. For the moment it is imperative that these measures should not be forced.

[Unidentified correspondent] It is no secret that for many years the party committees have controlled, whether well or badly, the work of enterprises and organizations. Aren't you worried that this decree many have the effect of lowering discipline at enterprises?

[Shakhray] (?You know), organizational party structures were engaged mainly in administration. In ministries and at enterprises they performed the functions of state administration. Again it is no secret that it is the organizational structures of the CPSU that are sabotaging the

laws of the Russian Federation and the president's decree. Just the other way about, the removal of the organizational structures of the CPSU and other political parties and political mass movements will make it easier to administer the state sector and thereby will play a very important role in extricating the republic from its economic and political paralysis.

### Leningrad Communists Divided

*LD0408083591 Moscow TASS in English 0752 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent John Polishchuk]

[Text] Leningrad August 4 TASS—Although Russian President Boris Yeltsin's decree on the departyization of institutions and factories takes effect today, collectives in Leningrad already have experience in parting with customary party structures.

An engineering plant has been without a party committee for a year now while a communist cell is available only in a construction organisation in the Sosnovy Bor nuclear power industry workers' town, 90 km west of Leningrad, a spokesman at the regional committee of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) told TASS.

Boris Gidaspov, leader of Leningrad Communists and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, addressing the personnel of the steel rolling mill on Friday, while recognising realities, stated: "this decree is yet another attack against the Communist Party, and nevertheless this is a decree issued by a president elected by the whole of the Republic".

Lenigraders' attitudes to the decree are rather varied. Some party members view it as timely and reasonable. But a considerable proporation of Communists believe that Yeltsin's decision is a flagrant violation of the democratic rights of citizens.

Fifty-three secretaries of primary party organisations of large firms—Svetlana, Kirovsky Zavod, and Leninets—have come forward with a demand for the cancellation of the decree.

Nevertheless, according to the regional committee of the CPSU, every tenth director of collectives in the city has signed an order to remove party committees and bureaus from the territories of factories, institutes, and institutions.

### Murmansk Obkom Stand Distorted

*PM0408140391 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Aug 91 Second Edition p 2*

[A. Khramtsov "Rejoinder": "Rumor Heard..."]

[Text] Murmansk—IZVESTIYA presented its readers with a virtual sensation by publishing a NOVOSTI report last Saturday under the headline "Obkom Ready To Go Underground."

If it is to be believed, the Murmansk RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party Obkom [Oblast Party Committee] Bureau has embarked on the "elaboration of new forms of functioning for its committees and cells in the event of the departyization decree coming into force." This, of course, is a reference to RSFSR President B.N. Yeltsin's decree No. 14 of 20 July.

Just what kind of "new forms?" Namely: In order not to undermine Communists' links with labor collectives it is recommended that primary organizations and party committees at enterprises be kept secret and work "underground." And "leafleting should be used" in order to have an opportunity to influence workers with Communist ideas.

And there is more. The author of the comments reports that at the same time "the obkom's [oblast party committee] actions in the event of emergency situations—such as the seizure of premises and other infringements of party property—are being planned."

Admittedly, this is slightly out of line. Insofar as I am aware, nobody is encroaching on any buildings belonging to CPSU party committees, either in Murmansk or in the oblast. Because these buildings, in the light of the sharply declining party committee apparatus, are providing auditoriums and a venue for mass social and cultural events, including work by economic organizations and sociopolitical clubs....

Nonetheless this "canard" escaped from the Murmansk RSFSR Communist Party Obkom Bureau session, where the situation brought about by the Russian president's decree was indeed discussed. This discussion resulted in an obkom bureau statement expressed in calm tones, assessing the Russian president's decree and appealing to the Soviet President and the USSR Supreme Soviet Constitutional Oversight Committee to review the document from a legal standpoint. The bureau also appealed to Kola Peninsula Communists and labor collectives to stay calm, show restraint, and avoid political confrontation in the interests of stabilizing the economy and improving northerners' lives. The full text of the statement was published this Saturday in the oblast newspaper POLYARNAYA PRAVDA.

He who has ears to hear, let him hear; he who has eyes to see, let him see—says the proverb. For some reason V. Popov, the local IAN correspondent who attended the obkom bureau session, did not hear the statement adopted at the bureau, but, on the other hand, he did hear the private and humorous story told by M. Demin, first secretary of Murmansk's Pervomayskiy Rayon Party Committee, about his meeting and talk with a group of Communists from the "Murmanskaya Sudoverf" Association parent works. According to him, the Communist ship repair workers stated that they have no plans to remove their party organization from the enterprise's territory. But if we are forced into it, they said, we will have to go "underground" and publish

agitation leaflets—just as the Bolsheviks did under the czars. The journalist saw this story as indicating that the party obkom bureau intends to "prepare" for underground work.

The only thing we do not understand is why a newspaper of IZVESTIYA's standing would publish this kind of "sensation" without checking up on it.

### Yeltsin Decree on Moscow Mayor's Powers Noted

*PM0408134591 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Aug 91 p 1*

["RSFSR Presidential Decree No. 22 of 30 July 1991 on the Powers of the Mayor of the City of Moscow"]

[Text] Pending the adoption of an RSFSR law on the status of the capital and the structure and competence of Moscow's organs of power and management and with a view to streamlining the system of executive organs in the city of Moscow, ensuring unified economic leadership, and creating the appropriate conditions for the city's move to market relations, I decree:

1. That the mayor of the city of Moscow be deemed the rightful successor of the Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies Executive Committee and the executive committees of rayon and Zelenograd City Soviets of People's Deputies.

2. That by 1 September 1991 the mayor of Moscow, G.Kh. Popov, complete the formation and ratification of sectoral and territorial structures of executive organs, along with the appointment of leaders of management organs in the city of Moscow within the bounds of the total funds for which the city budget makes provision for maintaining management organs, guided in this by RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolutions No. 1041-1 of 19 April 1991 "On the Status and Structure of Management Organs in Moscow—Capital of the RSFSR" and No. 1504-1 of 1 July 1991 "On the Demarcation of Competence Among Organs of Power and Management in the City of Moscow."

3. That the mayor of Moscow be instructed to implement the state budget and also use the targeted funds allocated from the Union and republic budgets to perform the capital's functions.

RSFSR President B. Yeltsin.

### West Siberian Economic Zone To Be Considered

*LD0508031791 Moscow All-Union Radio First Program Radio-1 Network in Russian 1900 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[Text] Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic president, and republican Prime Minister Ivan Stepanovich Silayev on 5 August leave on a four-day working visit to Tyumen Oblast, one of the largest Russian oblasts. They will visit Nadym, Salekhard, Noyabrsk, and Surgut. Oblast soviet and economic leaders plan to meet for a conference at the end of the visit. The question of setting up a West Siberian special economic zone will be discussed during the visit. This news comes from the Russian Information Agency.

### Moscow Russian TV Interviews Silayev

*LD0308210591 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1545 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Interview with Russian prime Minister Ivan Stepanovich Silayev by Sergey Nosovets, member of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet; place and date not given; from the "Russian Parliamentary Herald" program—recorded; video shows Silayev seated at a desk in an office]

[Text] [Nosovets] So, the three structures of state power in Russia are continuing their intensive work in our House of Soviets. Having realized the wishes of the legislators in the Russian Supreme Soviet, the president and his office and the chairman of the Council of Ministers and his office are now actively implementing those decisions that have been adopted by the Russian Supreme Soviet and the congress. Ivan Stepanovich, you are doubly busy at the moment because you are forming your own structure. No doubt this is not very simple either?

[Silayev] Today is a very serious moment or stage in the work of the executive body, the Council of Ministers, both because of the need to form the new government as quickly as possible and because of the need to harmonize the work of the new government with the new presidential structure.

I would say that our main criterion in approaching the formation of the new government is the principle of professional qualification. We have completed a year's work. We have accomplished certain things—far from everything that should have been done, of course, in this complex situation. But a team has already been formed. People have already acquired a certain amount of experience and know-how. I would say that the experiment, the principle of selection, adopted at the outset, has generally justified itself. At the same time we see that processes are now under way which oblige us to forge ahead with the large-scale implementation of laws which have already been adopted, programs which have already been adopted. So the professionalism of our [illegible] needs to be intensified. While I have to say that a significant proportion of the members of our former government will join the new government, we are also carrying out certain regroupings and moving rather more intensively toward professionalism.

[Nosovets] Ivan Stepanovich, at all events, regardless of the composition of the government, your main task is to implement the laws and decisions of the Supreme Soviet aimed at defending Russia's economic sovereignty. With the assistance of the Russian vice president, we have already discussed in outline a decision, a decree that

President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is preparing. This concerns those documents on which you and the Supreme Soviet have already been working, in other words, Russia's jurisdiction in the main areas of implementation, its own gold reserves, and so forth. How consistently will our government carry out precisely these wishes?

[Silayev] I would nevertheless return to the first congress when I was appointed and approved as chairman of the Council of Ministers and when words of loyalty were pronounced, to all the principles that were enshrined in the declaration of the first congress on economic and other forms of independence as a sovereign state. We can say today that we have not deviated, not by one step, not by one degree. These are the courses that we are taking. The fact that today we are already, practically speaking, to a greater extent ready to sign the new draft Union treaty, as a sovereign state—there is profound meaning here in each word—and the fact that by a decision, the program of joint actions, as it were, of the Cabinet of Ministers and the governments of the Union republics, approved by President Gorbachev, has already been put into action: All of this is moving in the same direction as well.

Not everyone sees the tension and the fundamental approaches that we have taken behind the meager lines of the documents, in some places taken alone and in some places together with the Union republics, in recent times generally, as a rule, together with the Union republics. Approaches which in the final analysis permitted a document such as this to be created—which I consider will abruptly turn our potential around in the direction of what is realistic, in the direction of what I would say is a profound lack of understanding, of profound difference which at times goes as far as open confrontation, although one might believe that there will be none of this for many fundamental issues are enshrined in it. However this does not mean that we do not need to continue work on further implementing the famous, I would call it historic, declaration from the first congress.

The fact that the latest presidential decree is now being prepared—owing to its complexity it has been rather delayed—it could have been issued as the first decree, it is true. The first, as you know, was on science and education. It is a very serious document and, practically speaking, it is being implemented on the same principles, of the further strengthening of economic independence and economic sovereignty.

[Nosovets] Ivan Stepanovich, I also have this question, which I think is also fundamental for our electorate. Probably all inhabitants of Russia have been repeatedly paying attention to how often you and your government have had to enter—I do not know whether these have been forced on our side—into conflicts with the central authorities. Not so long ago you issued a decision revoking the draconian, I would call it, customs duty set by Comrade Pavlov. What do you think, will this process of, I don't know, exploitation of Russian sovereignty by the center ever cease?

[Silayev] Since you have raised this very acute question, you know how difficult, especially psychologically, it is to say unpleasant things to one another. One would, of course, prefer to say something pleasant, civilized and gentlemanly, to say that we came to an agreement and that was it. Nevertheless, the struggle against the old structures—I would even say that these old structures are now actively opposing even the wishes of the Cabinet of Ministers.

The other day, for example, I read a very interesting document. I am referring to Pavlov's directive, which reads roughly as follows. He said that although the joint action program has been signed, although drafting of the new Union treaty has been completed, all kinds of central departments are continuing to make proposals based on the old principles. He warned them that they should not bring such documents to him. I respect this position and consider that the Prime Minister is trying, despite everything, to seek ways of achieving consolidation. However, the old structures are still holding on very tenaciously to their positions. Therefore, it is no coincidence that the Cherepovets metallurgical combine, for example, has decided to switch to Russia's jurisdiction. That happened about three months ago. But the decision has still not been implemented. I could also mention Uralmash, which has also decided to switch to our jurisdiction, Russia's jurisdiction. This decision has not yet been implemented either.

Therefore, in general, this is all coming in fits and starts. Obviously a new state is beginning, a new stage may be beginning. At all events, the mood is positive, especially President Gorbachev's "The Ogarevo" decisions, the decisions reached at the Novo-Ogarevo meetings, have drastically turned Gorbachev toward radical reform. Even Pavlov, for instance, is prepared to seek constructive decisions.

But battle is already being joined. Maybe this is the final or penultimate defensive line held by those structures that are threatened with elimination in the transfer to new economic principles. Very great and stubborn work still lies ahead in this respect, to complete the job, in view of the obstacles that still make it difficult for Russia actually to acquire proper economic sovereignty. We don't have all that much time at our disposal. But in the next state of our work, in addition to other tasks of a global nature, we will definitely resolve the job of completing fundamentally new structures which will not be an obstacle, unlike those old bureaucratic procedures, laws, and aspirations. I consider that we will basically complete this work by the end of the year.

[Nosovets] Ivan Stepanovich, we are coming to the end of our conversation, and I would like to ask you something. You were speaking about one of our opponents'

last lines of defense. You, as the leader of the government, will also be faced with implementing the not unknown presidential decree on the cessation of the political activities of the political structures. Not so long ago opponents—I will not name them, they are well-known to absolutely everyone—stated, following their reaction to the functioning, to this decree that this decree has not received approval either in juridical circles or among the people; they stated that the second or the following line of defense needs to be shot down. How will you bring this decree into action, taking into account the second, third, and fourth lines of defense?

[Silayev] If one speaks about this then of course it cannot be said that the day will come, in the near future, when the democratic processes will be victorious, when everyone will agree. That it is not so is indicated if only by the famous address to the people signed by quite well-known people, but this is also an attempt to turn around or to stop the processes. I even find it difficult to comment on this document from the viewpoint of its patently antidemocratic character.

[Nosovets] You mean the "Address to the People" in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA?

[Silayev] To the people, yes, the "Address to the People." After all, there are positions which are such that they can be understood and it is easy to argue with them here, defending one's position. But when it is just a matter of a collection of words and moreover with slanderous fabrications in it, then it is impossible even to find any areas where one might dispute. We simply refute and refuse to accept this. Consequently, many obstacles still need to be overcome, including these events connected with the fact that there really is opposition to the legal actions of the president. I consider that Yeltsin's decree on departyization is a logical consequence, even of Union laws when amendments were made to the Constitution leading to the multiparty system. So there is logic here as well. Of course, to say today that the rights of the people, human rights, as it were, are being trampled on also comes from the same arsenal. When there are no arguments some kind of inventions begin. For this reason we will implement this law. We have law enforcement bodies, we have other appropriate measures and methods and means in order to achieve respect for the law, respect for the Constitution, and respect for the decrees of the nationally elected president.

## Silayev Explains Ministry Restructuring

*PM0408134191 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Aug 91 p 1*

[Report from RIA, IMA-PRESS, URAL-AKTSEPT, TASS column: "New Structure of Russian Ministries"]

[Text] Ivan Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, has familiarized the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium with the changes in the structure and names of Russia's ministries and state committees.

The RSFSR State Committee for the Economy is to be transformed into the RSFSR Ministry of the Economy with the RSFSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Economic Reform being abolished at the same time. The RSFSR Health Ministry and the RSFSR Ministry for Social Security are amalgamated into the Ministry of Health and Social Security; the RSFSR Ministry of Labor and the RSFSR State Committee for Employment are amalgamated into the RSFSR Ministry of Labor and Employment.

The RSFSR State Committee for Antimonopoly Policy and Support for New Economic Structures is transformed into the State Committee for Antimonopoly Policy, Privatization, and Support for Entrepreneurs. The RSFSR State Geology Committee becomes the State Committee for Geology and Exploitation of Mineral Resources. The RSFSR State Committee for Nationalities is transformed into the RSFSR State Committee for the Affairs of Nationalities, Refugees, and Migrants. According to Ivan Silayev, this committee will also tackle the problems of Russians resident outside the RSFSR. The functions of the RSFSR State Committee To Eliminate the Aftermath of the Accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Electric Power Station are to be expanded, its title is to gain the words "and the radiation rehabilitation of territories."

Republic state committees for affairs of peasant farms, youth policy, supervision of radiation security, a State Committee for Strategic Stocks, and a State Committee for Defense Questions are to be set up, along with an RSFSR State Licensing Committee.

## G.V. Kulik Named Deputy Premier, Food Minister

*PM0408133391 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Aug 91 p 1*

[Unattributed report: "Appointment"]

[Text] By decree of the president of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Gennadiy Vasilyevich Kulik has been appointed deputy chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and RSFSR minister of agriculture and food.

## Isakov Sees Parliament's Rights Being Undermined

*PM0408140991 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 1 Aug 91 First Edition p 1*

[Interview with Vladimir Borisovich Isakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Republic, by SOVETSKAYA

ROSSIYA correspondent N. Nadezhdina; date and place not specified; first paragraph is introduction: "'Forced To Lodge Protest'"]

[Text] An extraordinary event has occurred—that was precisely how it was described by Vladimir Isakov, chairman of the Soviet of the Republic, who summoned journalists for this reason and issued the following statement:

[Isakov] The critical state of the Russian budget is widely known. In the first half-year of 1991 the deficit was almost double the sum planned for the year. Implementation totaled 36 percent in terms of income and 26 percent in terms of expenditure. The overall shortage of budgetary funds for carrying out adopted laws and socioeconomic programs neared 100 billion rubles. Despite this, new costly programs are being announced and numerous decisions are being adopted on exemption from taxes and other concessions. All these decisions, including multibillion budget appropriations, are being adopted without agreement with the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet.

The Third Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies instructed the Supreme Soviet to examine and adopt an emergency RSFSR budget within the month. These instructions have not been carried out. The RSFSR finance minister confirmed at the Fifth Congress of RSFSR People's Deputies that negative trends are building up and financial strain and budgetary imbalance increasing.

Under these conditions the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium wrongly adopted a resolution changing the RSFSR Law "On the RSFSR State Budgetary System," confirming new RSFSR budgetary indicators. This decision constitutes an outright breach of Articles 109, 160, and 161 of the RSFSR Constitution whereby the RSFSR State Budget is formulated by the RSFSR Council of Ministers, submitted by the RSFSR president, and approved by the RSFSR Supreme Soviet.

This resolution enshrines the practice of lack of control and irresponsibility in the use of funds and helps add to the chaos within the Russian budget and finance system. As chairman of the chamber responsible for socioeconomic policy, I am forced to lodge a protest due to this gross violation of the rights of the Soviet of the Republic and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet [Isakov ends].

The decision regarding the need to adopt an emergency budget was adopted back in March this year; there was every opportunity to do this by constitutional means, that is at a session of the Supreme Soviet, but these opportunities were not utilized.

In response to a SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent's question regarding the possible consequences of the illegal decision he explained that, regrettably, there has been a tendency of late for legislative issues to be settled by Supreme Soviet Presidium resolutions. All free economic zones, barring Nakhodka, were set up either by Presidium resolutions or by order of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. What harm is there in such acts? They are juridically unsound and do not provide the necessary guarantees. In the current situation if, say, there is some dispute over budgetary matters, a resolution adopted by the Presidium cannot be used to resolve it since this resolution is adopted illegally, in violation of the Constitution. That is the same as building a house on an unstable foundation

...He is somewhat reminiscent of Don Quixote, only he does not have to fight windmills. His adversaries are far more substantial and far stronger. But, attentively analyzing the deputy's activity, I see that Isakov cannot tolerate any departure from the spirit and letter of the law; he has, indeed, fought to set up a rule-of-law state.

[Nadezhdina] What nourishes your hope?

[Isakov] My belief that deputies and voters will realize that the Russian home must be built on a firm legal foundation....

## Status of Autonomous Oblasts Changed

*LD0408214491 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1012 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[By TASS correspondent Vasiliy Danilenko]

[Text] Abakan (Khakass Autonomous Oblast), 4 Aug (TASS)—In the course of a single day, maps showing the administrative division of the USSR are out of date. The Russian parliament has adopted a law raising the status of four autonomous oblasts. In the near future, these changes will be incorporated in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Constitution. Adygey, Gornyy Altay, Khakassia, and Karachayevo-Cherkessia will have the right to call themselves autonomous republics.

The initiative for these changes came from below. In the supreme organs of power, however, the draft document aroused many objections and even protests. In the final stage, the debate revolved around not so much the nationalities question, which has always been a sensitive one in the Soviet Union, but the question of power. At stake is the question of whether former officials will automatically occupy the leading posts in the new administrative bodies or whether these posts will be occupied by representatives of the new wave.

According to Nikolay Ogorodnikov, member of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, "Khakassia, for example, is in a desperate situation. Since April, people have not been able to exchange vouchers that used to guarantee them at least a minimum amount of sugar. At the market the prices of cucumbers and tomatoes are comparable with those of exotic fruit brought in by middlemen from places thousands of kilometers away in the south. Supplies of bread in the shops are irregular. There is no groats, macaroni, or fat." In neighboring Minusinsk, all

these things are available, but IDs have to be produced before any commodities are released.

Because of this there has been talk of an economic boycott by the leaders of Krasnoyarsk Kray, who allegedly did not want Khakassia to detach itself and now want to punish it. But the situation is different. The oblast's economic situation has deteriorated gradually. People who managed to convince the voters that they held progressive views came to power here three years ago. Khakassia began to go its own way. In due course commercial mistakes became apparent. Business ties were severed. The amount of credit in bank accounts fell. The local budget shrank.

The first drafts of the law on the transformation of oblasts envisaged that the current oblast soviets would automatically become the new supreme soviets of the newly formed republics. "Such a draft had already been signed by the chairman of the commission on national state structures and interethnic relations" continues Nikolay Ogorodnikov. "The reason is clear. Many high-ranking officials of the autonomous entities belong to the commission. The portfolios would remain in their hands. But the documents that have been adopted by the Russian parliament are very different from the original draft."

Heads of local administrations, members of the supreme court, and the supreme arbitrating judges will be directly elected in the new autonomous republics. New procurators will be appointed. Admittedly, it is already being suggested that, although the republican supreme soviet will be elected publicly, attempts may be made to hold a secret nomination for the post of chairman, with a narrow circle of officials meeting in private. If this happens, the RSFSR law on local self-government will intervene. It is hoped this will prevent the first direct elections from being turned into a game played out among the nomenklatura.

### Leningrad Leaders Appeal to Gorbachev, Yeltsin

*OW0508072391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1320 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Aleksandr Belyayev, chairman of the Leningrad city council, and Leningrad's deputy mayor Vyacheslav Scherbakov sent a joint appeal on Friday to the Presidents of the USSR and Russia.

According to the appeal, Leningrad is in a very difficult situation because many areas in Belorussia, the Ukraine, Lithuania, Kazakhstan and Russia failed to supply it with foods, raw materials and other goods.

This heightened social tensions in the city with a 5-million population, the appeal said. The document urges the leaders of the USSR and Russia to take steps with a view to stabilizing supplies for the city without delay.

## Ukraine

### Further Reportage on Bush Visit to Ukraine

#### Kravchuk Introduces Bush

*LD0208105891 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Opening speech by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk prior to U.S. President George Bush's speech at the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet in Kiev on 1 Aug—recorded]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. President, esteemed guests, esteemed people's deputies, comrades!

I think that all of you will agree with me that the spiritual atmosphere prevailing in this hall testifies in what high esteem the president of that great power, the United States, is held here. The road from the airport to Mariyinsky Palace, and then to the Supreme Soviet, has also vividly confirmed the fact that the Kievites and the whole people of the Ukraine respect U.S. policy, they respect the president of that great power, they respect the U.S. people.

On behalf of all those present I would like, Mr. President, to welcome you once again into this hall of supreme legislative power of the Ukraine, and to say that the arrival of the U.S. President in Kiev is taking place following the successful conclusion of the exceptionally important talks in Moscow, which were crowned by the signing of the historical treaty on the reduction of strategical offensive armaments of both countries.

We hope, Mr. President, that your stay in the Ukraine, all those meetings you have had, all these fruitful conversations, discussions, and togetherness in Mariyinskyy Palace and, I believe, the thoughts you are going to share with us, that is with people's deputies and representatives of all the political forces that are functioning in the Ukraine today—all this will turn into a significant event and become a historic milestone on the life of our republic.

I would like to inform you, Mr. President, that all the people present here represent various political forces, but all of them are united by a single great ideal—an ideal of the Ukraine's sovereignty and the building of its statehood, united by the Ukraine's desire to be the master of its own fate.

We would also like you to know that the Ukraine is one of the initiators of the creation of the new Union—the Union of sovereign states in which every republic would be a subject of international law and would take an active part in all European and world affairs, and that all forces, all political forces in the Ukraine unite on precisely these principles of sovereignty, unity, brotherhood, friendship, and cooperation with republics and with other states. Precisely this ensures stability for us. All people present today in this hall and outside this hall are representatives of all nations and ethnic groups but they live in our Ukraine on their native land, and the Ukrainian land is a warm and sheltered home for them. This stabilizes our work and here our prospects for the future open up.

I give the floor to George Bush, President of the United States.

#### Bush Remarks Noted

*PM0208111591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 91 Second Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "U.S. President G. Bush in Kiev"]

[Text] Kiev, 1 Aug—U.S. President G. Bush, who is touring the country within the framework of his official visit to the USSR, arrived in the Ukrainian capital today.

Welcoming the guest at Borispol Airport, L.M. Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, stressed that people in the republic attach great importance to the U.S. leader's visit. Reflecting the changes which have taken place in the Soviet Union and the United States, this visit will go down in history as an important step toward a new level of cooperation. Despite all the complexity and contradictoriness of the political processes in the world, the head of the Ukrainian parliament noted, radical positive changes have become the main trend of modern world development. And for this mankind is indebted to the farsighted policy of our states and their common aspiration toward a humane and just world.

L.M. Kravchuk voiced satisfaction at the fact that the U.S. President has come to the Ukraine after signing a document of historic importance—the START treaty. The Ukrainian people, he stressed, assess this act as an important specific step on the path toward universal and total disarmament.

The U.S. President then spoke. He described the two days of talks in Moscow as very progressive work and noted the historic importance of the START Treaty. The U.S. President stressed that the two countries could increase volumes of trade and the exchange of ideas and experience. Speaking of the prospects for developing relations with the Ukraine, G. Bush expressed himself in favor of expanding their framework. He said that the United States would like to form stronger economic, cultural, social, and professional ties. While maintaining the closest possible relations with Gorbachev's government, we understand also the importance of broader ties with the Ukraine and the other republics and with all peoples of the Soviet Union, he noted.

The program of the U.S. President's stay in the Ukraine is crammed with interesting meetings. In particular there was an exchange of opinions with L.M. Kravchuk and other leaders of the republic. G. Bush was familiarized with the Ukraine's position with regard to the new Union treaty. It was noted that the Ukraine is striving to

live in peace and friendship with other republics and with all countries on a mutually advantageous basis. The new Union treaty should satisfy the majority of political forces.

It was said that with the aid of the United Nations the Ukraine would like to raise the question of expanding its participation in both European and world structures. G. Bush was presented with the Ukrainian Government's proposals on a number of specific programs of economic cooperation with the United States, in particular on granting most-favored nation status to the Ukraine, as a subject of international law. Questions of U.S. investments under guarantees from the Ukrainian National Bank and the participation of U.S. firms in the process of the destatization of a number of enterprises of the coal mining, metallurgical, and other sectors of the republic's economy were also touched on.

The U.S. President's speech in the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet to deputies, members of the cabinet of ministers, and representatives of the public organizations and political parties of the republic was an important event.

G. Bush stated the United States' support for the struggle for democracy and economic reforms initiated in the Soviet Union. He noted that this support extends both to the centers and to the republics, which are seeking freedom, democracy, and economic freedom. At the same time the United States does not support those forces which are seeking independence only to replace "tyranny from afar with local despotism" and those who are promoting "a suicidal course based on ethnic hatred."

G. Bush said that President Gorbachev has achieved "remarkable results in pursuing a policy of glasnost, perestroyka, and democratization and seeking to attain the aims of freedom, democracy, and economic freedom."

G. Bush said that the United States will maintain relations with the country's central leadership but at the same time will also welcome new realities in the life of the Soviet Union, anxious to have good relations with the republics.

The U.S. President also dwelled on the importance of the "Nine plus One" agreement. In his opinion this agreement determines a policy for the republics which are seeking greater autonomy and at the same time the consolidation of voluntary collaboration—political, social, cultural, and economic.

George Bush noted that U.S. businessmen are seeking to develop ties with the Soviet Union, including the Ukraine. That will be promoted by the various agreements signed in Moscow. At the same time he made the development of bilateral trade relations conditional on the possibilities of moving to "a single common language in trade." That means primarily currency and laws which will protect U.S. investors and businessmen.

## Kravchuk Interviewed on Visit

*LD0408131491 Kiev Radio Kiev Network in Ukrainian 0500 GMT 3 Aug 91*

[Interview with Leonid Makarovich Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, by unidentified correspondent in Kiev on 1 Aug—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] We broadly covered the visit of George Bush, the President of the United States of America, to the capital of the Ukraine. Immediately after the U.S. President was seen off at Borispol Airport, our correspondent interviewed Leonid Makarovych Kravchuk, chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

[Correspondent] Leonid Makarovych, during the whole of this day television viewers in the Ukraine were able to watch all the stages of the U.S. President's visit to Kiev. They heard your statements for representatives of the mass media, your speeches, and the speech of the President. The only thing they did not see is your conversation tete-a-tete. What can you say about it?

[Kravchuk] The thing is that a tete-a-tete conversation is a tete-a-tete conversation because it has its (?own) status. However, it was very frank and honest. We raised pragmatic questions, for example what the U.S. role could be now in giving economic support to the Ukraine. What the United States could do, as a great country, through the United Nations to help the Ukraine gain its recognition as a subject of international law. I suppose we will raise this question in the Union treaty; we will make efforts to attain it.

We have to become a subject of international law—only then there will be sovereignty; only then we will conclude treaties, start relations on the level of states and not on the level of collectives or joint or other enterprises, although it is very important. However, in order to start such relations, one has to be a subject—this is an obligatory norm. In addition to that, you understand that we have to have a corresponding level of economic and social development, and that of the political and legal structures. The talk was about that as well—yes, the talk was about that, too.

There was a very interesting conversation during negotiations on a broader level. There we and our prime minister raised a whole number of questions, for example whether the United States would be able to directly invest large capital in our economy at present—whether the United States would be able to take part in giving us economic support. The President said that they would study these issues, but he said that he could say even then that he saw no complications here. I thus think that after this visit the President was satisfied with it. Well, you all saw how people welcomed the President. I said about this that it is an indication of respect to the state, to the policy, to the position of the state in the world. When the President arrived, he could feel it, and

we talked about the fact that it is necessary that business people go to the Ukraine after this, that they start relations with our business people as well, to create production, distribution—in other words to shift to a new quality of living. However, everyone has to know one thing, and the President stressed this—before our internal relations have been settled, before we...[changes thought] We are an unfinished society at present, do you understand? There is no proper Union; there is no proper sovereign Ukraine. All this has to take place. The new Union has to take place; in it there should be a sovereign, independent Ukraine, with its status and its right. When it is written in the articles of the Union treaty, the treaty of sovereign states—and we stand and will stand for this—then different opportunities for relations with us will open at once for all countries of the world.

Sometimes I see that the opposition and all others say that the President has declared that he supports the Ukraine. He says: Sort it out in your environment first; complete your political structure; complete your economic forecasts—whether it is going to be a market, or whether it is not going to be a market—what you are going to have.

[Correspondent] Do you mean President Bush?

[Kravchuk] The U.S. President, certainly. When all this happens and is stated in the articles of the treaty—and we will stand for this, so that it is stated exactly like that, so that the Ukraine is sovereign, is a master, has relations with other states.... [changes thought] We say that now we need investments. We can take loans. We do not want to take credits to spend them on food again, and leave debts to our children. We want to build new enterprises. We want firms to take part in the destatization of pits and metallurgical works as well, then they will reconstruct, and work together and share profit together. For ourselves and for other people, as they say, so that there is no such thing as: I will not eat it myself, and I will not give it to others, either [popular saying in the Ukraine]. So that it is an entry into a different form of living, into a different structure of living. In such a situation the U.S. President, the prime minister of England, the president of France, and everyone, and Kohl—with whom I met as well—say: As soon as you dot your i's and cross your t's and find out locally who you are and where your are going, we will immediately start normal international relations with you. This should be done, and we must do it, yet using as a guide the formula which I always talk about: that the Ukraine has to be a sovereign state in the Union of sovereign states.

[Correspondent] Thank you very much.

### Plyushch Discusses U.S. Relations

*LD0308084891 Kiev Radio Kiev International Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 1 Aug 91*

[Excerpts] What does Ivan Plyushch, first deputy chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet, expect from the arrival of George Bush in the Ukraine? He said:

[Begin Plyushch recording] [passage omitted] The U.S. Administration should say something about the tears so lavishly shed on account of enslaved nations. I do not regard the Ukraine as an enslaved nation, but as it has signalled its national revival and independence, then no one in the world or in the Union has the right to deny this striving. I do not think that there is a need to persuade us as to what sort of Union we should create. This belongs to the competence of those who are going to create the Union.

As to the U.S. Administration, I would like to repeat once again: the external economic relations that were created in past decades are devoid of great efficiency. More substance should be given to direct republican ties with both European and all Western countries. [end recording]

## Armenia

### Ter-Petrosyan Comments on Bush, Union Treaty

#### Meeting With Bush, Yazov Cited

*NC0308131091 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Text] Yerevan, 2 Aug (ARMENPRES)—As we had already reported, a meeting took place at the U.S. Embassy in Moscow between U.S. President George Bush and Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

Addressing yesterday's session of the republic's Supreme Soviet, Levon Ter-Petrosyan spoke about that visit.

He said the meeting took place at the U.S. Embassy during the banquet given by George Bush in honor of Soviet leader Gorbachev. Among the 120 guests were the U.S. secretary of state, renowned individuals, and representatives of the progressive faction Yuriy Afanasyev, Anatoliy Sobchak, Yelena Bonner, and Andrey Voznesenskiy. Invited from the Union republics, besides Ter-Petrosyan, were Yeltsin and Nazarbayev.

In his address George Bush specifically mentioned our presence and greeted Gorbachev and the three of us in person, as well as Moscow Mayor Gavriil Popov, and thanked us for our presence.

I was told that the foreign commentators have already made their assessment and have seen my invitation there as a political act by Bush, who wanted to point out that Armenia is at the center of attention of the U.S. Anyway, some significance is given to the fact that we three were invited there.

I had the opportunity to exchange a few kind words with Bush, but they were exclusively courteous exchanges.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan also said that before the start of the banquet he had an important conversation with Yeltsin and Yazov. The USSR Defense Minister had already on many occasions assured that he would withdraw the troops from Shaumyanovskiy Rayon. But they are afraid that once this is done clashes might ensue between the Armenians and OMON [Azerbaijani Special Purpose Militia Detachment]. As you know, he said, Yazov has sent one of his assistants, Kolesnikov, to our region. He, together with the three Russian people's deputies, will visit Baku, Yerevan, and Shaumyanovskiy to ascertain the possibility of pulling out the troops from Shaumyanovskiy Rayon.

#### Views Signing Union Treaty

*PM0208155791 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Aug 91 First Edition p 3*

["Direct Line" report by Colonel V. Kaushanskiy: "Let's Wait for the Referendum"]

[Text] Yerevan, 31 Jul—Will Armenia sign the Union treaty? As the people know, the answer to that question will become finally clear after the referendum on 21 September. As far as the position of the leader of the republic himself is concerned, however, he specified it at a press conference in Tbilisi after signing the treaty on the basic principles of interstate relations between Georgia and Armenia. The full text of the interview [intervyu] has been published in the local press, and I will quote only an excerpt. "Given that Armenia has chosen the path of securing independence within Soviet laws and the Soviet Constitution," L. Ter-Petrosyan stated, "the five-year transitional period is essential, consequently it is necessary to find ways to utilize those five years. That period will enable us to determine our relations both with the center and the republics and create realistic preconditions for independence. We are not even ruling out Armenia's signing the Union treaty for the transitional period."

Has the position of the republic leadership become clearer? At any rate, according to observers, Armenia has shown once again that it is leaving the door to the Union open.

### Presidium Delays Decision on Union Treaty

*NC0308124491 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1715 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[By Gayaney Balanozyan from the Armenian Supreme Soviet session on 2 August—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Balanozyan] As is known, after many days of debate the bill on the post of president of the Armenian republic was finally adopted yesterday. At today's morning session chaired by Gagik Arutyunyan, deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, bills on the election of the republic's president and the procedures for its application also were passed after introducing amendments and addenda in certain provisions. Bills on amendments in certain laws and codes also were adopted without debate. [passage omitted]

Discussion on the Union treaty was planned for after the main recess. The podium was given to republic Supreme Soviet Chairman Levon Ter-Petrosyan.

[Ter-Petrosyan] I would generally (?appraise) today's discussion in the following terms: All of us realized this was going to be a preliminary discussion [words indistinct] and no decision was expected to be adopted, because even some of those republics which had expressed the desire to sign that agreement have not yet expressed their opinions at the parliamentary level. In particular, and most importantly, Ukraine which [words indistinct] in mid-September. I told the delegates in Novo-Ogarevo that we should first find out parliament's attitude toward this issue. Later, based on this understanding, the Presidium [of the Armenian Supreme Soviet] should deliberate the issue for one month to more closely study it with cooperation from the relevant Supreme Soviet commissions. If needed, it should set up

special delegations to visit the center and different republics for political consultations. There already is a preliminary agreement on this with the Ukraine, Russia and Kazakhstan. What I am saying is that through these delegations, we should learn their views and how they regard relations with those republics which would not immediately sign the treaty or would refuse to sign it altogether.

This is how we, in general, picture the problem. There is no need to rush things, for as I already said, the Ukraine will express its final position after mid-Setpember. We have enough time. Regardless of whether a debate would take place today, a decision should be adopted instructing the Supreme Soviet Presidium to study the Union treaty in cooperation with the relevant commissions and conduct political consultations with the central authorities and the other republics. If the parliament makes such a suggestion, then we would have the opportunity to reach a really more [words indistinct] during this period, whereas we now are engaged in an abstract discussion. It is abstract because we do not know the attitudes of our other colleagues. [passage indistinct]

The reply to this question, however, eventually will be given through the 21 September referendum, regardless of our discussions and decisions. This was stated beforehand and those in Moscow know this well. You recall that Gorbachev himself accepted this after the Novo-Ogarevo meeting and even stated that the reply to that question will come only through the 21 September referendum.

[Balanozyan] A quorum was taken and only (?119) deputies were present. Although the chairman warned that because there is no quorum it is meaningless to begin discussion on the Union treaty, many deputies still expressed their various views in a forceful manner. [passage omitted] Finally, the parliament endorsed the proposal of the Supreme Soviet chairman. It decided to (?instruct) the Presidium and the relevant commissions to carry out a profound study of the Union treaty and in the meantime to hold political consultations with the republics and the center.

Next, Gagik Arutyunyan summed up the work done by the parliament over the last months. [passage omitted] This ended the second session of the first convocation of the Armenian Republic Supreme Soviet. The Armenian parliament will resume work on 26 August.

### Yazov Not To Withdraw Troops From Geranboy

*OW0508003891 Moscow INTERFAX in English 09:30 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Thursay the chairman of the Armenian parliament Levon Ter-Petrosyan told MPs abut his meeting with the USSR Defence Minister Dmitriy Yazov in Moscow during the Soviet-American summit.

According to Ter-Petrosyan, the minister assured him that Soviet Army units will not be withdrawn from Geranboy (former Shaumyan) region of Azerbaijan. The Armenian leader was satisfied with the assurance because he said that if the military leave the region, "nothing will stop the bloodshed".

He said Russian People's Deputies Anatoliy Shabad, Lev Ponomarykov and Viktor Sheinis are heading to Geranboy region from Baku.

During a Baku meeting with the deputy chairman of the Azerbaijani parliament Tamerlan Garayev the three stated that the presidents of Russia and Kazakhstan gave them powers to act as mediators in the talks between Armenia and Azerbaijan. There has been no official confirmation of their powers.

Meanwhille, Garayev has told IF [INTERFAX] that Azerbaijan tends to regard the Russian People's Deputies "as the opposite side rather than mediators".

### National Movement Meets 4 Aug

*LD0408225791 Moscow TASS in English 1805 GMT 4 Aug 91*

[By Tigran Liloyan]

[Text] Yerevan August 4 TASS—Deputies of all levels, who were elected from the Armenian National Movement, the republic's ruling socio-political organisation, met today to examine the organisation's tasks in the run-up to a referendum on Armenia's secession from the USSR, which is scheduled for September 21.

Participants pointed out that the Armenian National Movement that came to power a year ago after Armenia adopted the independence declaration had pursued the political course of strengthening the republic's sovereignty and independence, without weakening ties with other republics and peoples of the country. To this end, the chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet participated in the federation council's meetings and met representatives of the country's top leadership.

Speakers pointed out that Armenia's refusal to participate in the all-Union referendum and in drafting a Union treaty demonstrated the republic's commitment to its declaration of independence. They think that only thanks to this, many foreign countries today maintain vigorous contacts with Armenia and cooperate with it. They stated that achieving sovereignty was impossible without some political confrontation.

### Official Discusses 'Guerrilla Warfare'

*OW0508084391 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1400 GMT 2 Aug 91*

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leaders of Azerbaijan's Kazakh and Zangelan regions should think twice before allowing bandit raids

on Armenia from their territory, Armenian MP and spokesman for the republican operative headquarters Semion Bagdasarian said at a briefing in Yerevan on Thursday.

According to him, residents of Armenia's border regions have the right to relentlessly rebuff those who attack them from the direction of Azerbaijan which might cause casualties among Azeri civilians. "The entire responsibility for this will lie on the leaders of Kazakh and Zangelan regions", S. Bagdasarian stressed.

With reference to the guerrilla warfare launched (by Armenians: IF [INTERFAX]) in Geranboi (former Shaumian) region of Azerbaijan S. Bagdasarian said that this method of struggle has never been prohibited. According to him, if a man is thrown out of his own home, he has the right to resort to any means to defend himself.

S. Bagdasarian criticized the term "illegal armed units" often used by the news media with reference to developments in Geranboi region of Azerbaijan, in Nagorno-Karabakh and in Armenia's border regions. In his view these units are waging a justified national liberation struggle.

## Azerbaijan

### Armenian Attacks Against Azerbaijan Reported

*NC0508074191 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 1 Aug 91*

[Text] Armed Armenians are escalating their bandit attacks against peaceful residents of Azerbaijan's border rayons and the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]. The Azerbaijan Committee for State Security's Public Relations Department has reported that Armenians fired automatic weapons and missiles at a military convoy in the NKAO's Mardakertskiy Rayon late on 31 July. Valeriy [name indistinct], a correspondent of [word indistinct], an independent newspaper published in (?Kirov), and four military servicemen were wounded in the attack, and a vehicle [words indistinct] was damaged.

Meanwhile, some 50 armed men attacked the town of Degerly in Gedabekskiy Rayon on 30 July with automatic weapons. Employees of the republic's Committee for State Security and the local militia returned fire, and the bandits eventually withdrew after an hour-long clash. No one was wounded in the incident.

### Citizens Want Questions About Aliyev Answered

*PM0208142591 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jul 91 Union Edition p 1*

[NOVOSTI report from "IZVESTIYA, TASS, NOVOSTI, REUTERS, INTERFAX, RIA" column: "Answering for His Actions"]

[Text] Many Communists in Azerbaijan are interested to know what lies behind Geydar Aliyev's resignation from the CPSU.

For 13 years Aliyev headed, on the party's behalf, the chemical enterprises with which Sumgait is now saturated, increased the area sown to cotton, and dispensed judgment on guilty and innocent alike. He reached the acme of power not as an experienced economic leader but as a party leader, achieving much along the way.

Most Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet deputies supported the proposal to set up a special commission to investigate the lawlessness perpetrated by the republic's leadership in the seventies, NOVOSTI reports.

### Republic Reportedly Seeks To Resettle Refugees

*NC0508075491 Istanbul TURKIYE in Turkish 30 Jul 91 p 6*

[By Ahmet Ali Arslan: "Mutalibov Is Evicting the Refugees From Baku"]

[Text] Washington—Some 200,000 Turks who were forcibly evicted from their homes and deported to Azerbaijan by the Armenians are now being deported from Baku. They are being sent to remote areas, particularly places near where the Armenian bandits are waging an armed struggle against the Azerbaijani government.

We had an opportunity to meet with hundreds of Azerbaijani refugees from Armenia outside the building housing the Azerbaijani Refugee Committee. We saw ample evidence that no state official was dealing with the concerns of these unfortunate people.

Some of the Azerbaijani Turks told us they would not leave their present accommodations, even if tanks were brought in, unless they were provided with alternative residences and showed us documents and papers issued by the Azerbaijani government granting them the right to reside in Baku. The general opinion of the Azerbaijani Turks gathered outside the building was that this operation was part of a deliberate policy by the Mutalibov government.